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USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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USSR REPORT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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ARMS CONTROL

USSR: U.S. CANNOT USE ARMS RACE TO BANKRUPT USSR

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 14, No 15, 1, 8 Apr 86

[Article by B. Ol'ginskiy: "Will the U.S. be Able to Achieve Bankruptcy of Our Economy?"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[1 Apr 86 p 3]

[Text] This is not an idle question. This goal is set by certain U.S. circles when a regular spiral of the arms race is imposed on us and various barriers are introduced in the sphere of trade, economic, and scientific relations.

If One Turns to History

There were already times in the history of the Soviet State when it was challenged, when it was questioned if the land of the soviets was "to be" or "not to be." WE KNOW THAT DURING THE YEARS OF PREWAR 5-YEAR PLANS OUR PEOPLE HAVE CREATED A POWERFUL DEFENSE INDUSTRY. This has helped us in holding out in the Great Patriotic War. And when the enemy seized the most important regions in the western part of the USSR, "a miracle of relocating hundreds of gigantic plants in the east," as the English newspaper TIMES wrote, was accomplished where the Soviet people have forged the weapons of victory.

Thus, OUR VICTORY WAS ALSO A VICTORY OF THE LEADING SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL, DESIGN, AND ENGINEERING THOUGHT. Those who challenge us to new spirals of the arms race and expect to "undermine the USSR economically" should turn to testimonies and conclusions of their own experts. For example, to the opinion of Archibald V. Hill, a prominent English scientist and laureate of the Nobel Prize, who wrote: "The courage of the peoples of the USSR and the skill and effectiveness with which they mobilized their resources in order to repel the German attack were convincing proof of the strength and steadfastness of the Soviet system and effectiveness of the vigorous and wise state planning."

Even Nazis were compelled to give credit to the Soviet socialist system. Field Marshal Keitel, for example, acknowledged that leaders of the fascist "reich" were deeply mistaken in appraising the defense and economic possibilities of the USSR.

It is a proper time to remind about this now.

In the mortal battle against fascism our country lost a third of its national wealth.

And this bled-white and devastated country gritted its teeth and tightened its belt and CREATED ATOMIC WEAPONS, WHICH REQUIRED TREMENDOUS STRENGTH AND FUNDS, AND GAVE A REBUFF TO THE IMPERIALIST NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL. We did not break down and the "economic bankruptcy," which was predicted for us, did not happen.

Socialism has convincingly and clearly demonstrated its truly inexhaustible possibilities by achievements in the mastery of outer space. It is very important in this case that the USSR HAS CARRIED OUT ITS MISSILE PROGRAM THROUGH ITS OWN EFFORTS, which cannot be said about the United States. Here are the facts. After the war about 500 German scientists and rocket engineers headed by Werner von Braun, who became the "father of the American ballistic missile," and Arthur Rudolf, who headed the Pershing program, were moved from Germany to the United States.

But even taking the work of German scientists for America into account, the USSR was ahead of the United States. "We must steal from them, and not them from us," Werner von Braun himself commented on the ridiculous article "Did Russia Steal the Satellite Secret from the United States?" in the magazine U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT.

Before the war, and after it we were repeatedly challenged to new rounds of the arms race--increasingly more complex and more expensive. And each time the West did not conceal its expectation that our country and our people will not endure the heaviest burden of this endless race and will break down. Time went by, but the hopes of "Sovietologists" did not come true. On the contrary, RELIABLY ENSURING ITS SECURITY, THE SOVIET UNION DEVELOPED PEACEFUL ECONOMY AND RAISED THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE.

If in 1950 the industrial output of the USSR amounted to less than 30 percent of the U.S. level, then in 1960 it reached 55 percent, in 1970 it exceeded 75 percent, and now already amounts to more than 80 percent.

It is clear to everyone that progressive development of our peaceful economy was combined with strengthening of the defensive might. We had the strength and means for both.

Can the Parity be Preserved During Various Expenditures?

The U.S. military budget, which this year already amounts to an astronomical sum of \$300 billion, continues to grow rapidly. It is well known that the preparation for "star wars" presupposes creation of fantastically expensive weapon systems. Specialists believe that implementation of SOI will cost up to \$1.5 trillion.

Of course, the United States also compels us to participate in the devastating race of the latest strategic arms. The expectation of undermining our economy is based on this. It is quite obvious that the SOVIET UNION HAS TO ADOPT

ALL MEASURES SO THAT THE PARITY WHICH EXISTS WITH THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS NOT VIOLATED. Naturally, corresponding expenditures are required for this. A noteworthy "detail" is revealed precisely here: the BUDGETARY EXPENDITURES OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR DEFENSE ARE CONSIDERABLY SMALLER THAN THE AMERICAN MILITARY BUDGET. How does this come about?

All sorts of Western "radio voices" are attempting to palm off on us their own explanation concerning this: In the USSR, they say, the true expenditures for defense are much greater, they are "secretly" carried through according to other items in the budget. A malicious lie!

The fact that the DEFENSE INDUSTRY IN THE USSR, LIKE THE ENTIRE INDUSTRY, IS IN THE HANDS OF THE SOCIALIST STATE DOES NOT REQUIRE A REMINDER. THE PRICES SET BY THE STATE FOR DEFENSE PRODUCTION ARE STABLE. No one is allowed to set them too high, it is not necessary for there is no one to get rich on this.

In the United States, in the world of the capital, the situation is fundamentally different. Production of weapons serves the extraction of excess profits. That is why astonishing manipulations with prices occur.

Here is what was certified by President Reagan himself: "The Pentagon pays \$100 for a diode valued at 4 cents or \$900 for a small plastic lid." It seems that the mechanics of price formation alone explain to a considerable degree as to why given completely different expenditures for arms the Soviet Union has not allowed the United States to violate strategic parity.

But the explanation is far from being exhausted by the mechanics of prices. Another fundamental difference between the USSR and the United States consists in the fact that the U.S. Army is a mercenary one. Soldiers-"volunteers" serve for money. It is obvious to anyone that a hired army is many times more expensive. According to the data of the American press, the upkeep of personnel consumes more than half of the appropriations allocated to the U.S. Department of Defense.

The other important difference is in the nature of disposition of the armed forces. One thousand five hundred American military bases are scattered all over the world. A colossal amount is allotted for their upkeep annually.

But let us return again to the question as to who in America pays for the arms race. The popular thesis of Western propaganda is that as though the monopolies, which produce the arms and get rich on Pentagon orders, correspondingly make greater deductions to the treasury in the form of taxes on their profits. A sort of "self-financing" appears. It is indeed a shrewd manipulation. In words, of course.

But nothing of the sort happens in reality. With the growth of huge profits from the "industry of death," owing to the policy of President Reagan and those around him who advocate the flourishing of "free" capitalism and provide monopolies with enormous tax benefits, deductions to the treasury have not been increasing. The matter reaches strange occurrences. In 1981-83, for example,

128 large American corporations did not pay a cent in taxes to the state, although their profits during the period amounted to nearly \$60 billion.

During the past financial year, tax payments by ordinary Americans amounted to 83 percent of state treasury receipts, but the share of corporations was 6 percent. This is the way it is in reality.

[8 Apr 86 p 3]

[Text] Does the U.S. President Believe in His "Reference Book"?

Let us note: In expecting to undermine the Soviet economy by the arms race, the West counts on our certain "lag in latest technology." But here what is noteworthy: The talk about the Soviet Union's "technological lag" is obviously meant for uninformed people. But as far as those in power are concerned, then they are not being confused. The fundamental research by the notorious Hoover Institute "The United States in the Eighties"--President Reagan's "reference book"--contains a precise statement: "The United States no longer has the technological superiority over the Soviet Union." Moreover, SOVIET LEADERSHIP IN SOME IMPORTANT SECTORS OF THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY IS BEING NOTED IN THE UNITED STATES. In particular, "The Soviet Military Power," a pamphlet published by the Pentagon, states that the United States "has already begun to yield to the Soviet Union in the production and use of electronic-optical sensors, guidance systems, navigational hydroacoustic systems, and rocket engines." The question arises: How is this to be regarded?

Of course, Pentagon pamphlets are also intended at the same time for inflating the myth about "Soviet military threat" and thereby spurring on the arms race. Still, it seems to us, that our country is by no means lagging in the aforementioned spheres. Let us explain this.

It is no secret that latest electronics determine the possibilities of the defense industry in many respects. This is the way things stand here. In 1983, for example, the USSR purchased R23 million worth of electronic computers in France, the FRG, Italy, England, the United States, and Japan, but sold R114 million worth of them itself to dozens of countries.

John Kaiser, advisor to the U.S. President for science and technology, wrote in the WASHINGTON POST, a leading American newspaper: "I am simply astonished by the extent of ignorance of Americans in everything that concerns technical achievements of the Soviet Union. This, apparently, is natural. An endless avalanche of propaganda is hurled at Americans, persuading them that Russians are stealing American industrial and military secrets. Meanwhile, almost in all cases, when the West refused to supply Russians with specific technology of individual kinds of equipment, they developed their own versions in the end."

As if summarizing this sort of data, the reputable American magazine FOREIGN AFFAIRS states: "The achievements of Soviet technology, which can be used in the military field, have not yielded to Western achievements, and from time to time the Soviet Union has been leading."

It would seem that everything is clear. Nevertheless, the echoes of a myth about a "one-way street" have been heard in the questions of the American magazine TIME to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev: "The Soviet Union seeks to obtain a greater access to the perfect technology developed in the United States... If the United States will not provide a greater access to this technology, to whom do you intend to turn to in order to obtain it?"

M. S. Gorbachev noted in his replies: "WHEN SUBSTANTIATING THE INCREASE OF MILITARY ALLOCATIONS, THE TALK IN THE UNITED STATES IS ONLY ABOUT THE FANTASTIC USSR ACHIEVEMENTS IN TECHNOLOGY. BUT WHEN THEY WANT TO SUBSTANTIATE PROHIBITIVE MEASURES, WE ARE BEING DEPICTED AS A DENSE, BACKWARD VILLAGE, TO TRADE WITH WHICH, AND ALL THE MORE TO COOPERATE, WOULD MEAN TO UNDERMINE THEIR OWN 'NATIONAL SECURITY.' WHERE IS THE TRUTH HERE? WHAT IS TO BE BELIEVED?"

We Do Not Need "Star Wars"

But the truth cannot be concealed. THE SOVIET MILITARY DOCTRINE IS PARTICULARLY DEFENSIVE. The entire postwar history testifies that every first step and every new spiral of the arms race was not made by the USSR but by the United States. We always had to respond, to catch up. BUT THERE WAS NO INSTANCE WHEN AN IMPUDENT CHALLENGE BY AMERICAN MILITARISM REMAINED WITHOUT A PROPER RESPONSE. It was like this with the atomic bomb, with all kinds of missiles and warheads, with nuclear submarines, and so forth. Everything that will be urgently required once again, everything, that we will be compelled to do, will, of course, be created. Ye. P. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, has noted that IF THE AMERICAN "STAR WARS" PROGRAM WOULD BE TECHNICALLY FEASIBLE, THEN IT WOULD BE MUCH EASIER FOR OUR COUNTRY TO DEVELOP MUCH CHEAPER AND SUFFICIENTLY EFFECTIVE MEANS FOR NEUTRALIZING IT.

Incidentally, let us note that today, in the epoch of NTR [scientific and technical revolution], not a single industrial state, regardless of how powerful and rich it is, cannot be in the lead in all fields of industry, science, and technology. A convincing proof of this is the United States. While dominating in the capitalist world as a whole, the United States seeks to join the scientific and technical experiment of West European countries. Its attention has also not been relaxed to Soviet achievements. The weekly U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT notes: "Tens of American companies are continuing to maintain ties and are conducting talks with the Soviet Litsenzintorg organization, trying to obtain licenses in promising sectors of technology."

The export of Soviet licenses grows an average of 30 percent a year. Incidentally, 2.5-fold more Soviet licenses were sold than acquired by the Soviet Union in the past 5-year plan. In all about 700 licenses were sold abroad.

Their most important buyers are Japan, France, the FRG, Great Britain, the United States, and Italy. By the way, the United States bought 34 licenses from the USSR and sold eight during the seventies.

In October 1983, WASHINGTON POST carried an article by columnist Jack Anderson who quoted and commented on a report by American experts on the benefit of scientific and technical cooperation with the USSR. Here are just a few examples:

Atomic energy: "the Russians have rendered valuable assistance to their American colleagues."

Electrometallurgy: here the "Soviet Union is a pioneer," and the United States succeeded in "achieving impressive results on the basis of Soviet data."

As regards first-rate fundamental research that is underway, which ensures a revolutionary change for the better in technique and technology, the USSR is far ahead of the United States and "Common Market" countries. It is being admitted in the West THAT THE LARGEST "PORTFOLIO OF IDEAS" IN THE WORLD IS PRECISELY IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE USSR IS AHEAD OF THE UNITED STATES ALMOST 2.5-FOLD WITH RESPECT TO THE NUMBER OF INVENTIONS. The question is only in using this potential much better, more fully, and more efficiently and to give powerful acceleration to scientific and technical progress. In a word, it is a question about realization of fundamental advantages of the socialist system.

Here it is appropriate to remind of some fundamental truths. ALL OUR NATIONAL WEALTH IS CREATED EXCLUSIVELY BY THE LABOR OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR EFFORTS AND THRIFT. WE HAVE GREAT RESERVES HERE. Of course, the laziness, carelessness, and lack of ability, which are still encountered in work, can in no way be regarded as assets in the counteraction against the attempts to wear us out. Since we cannot yield to the U.S. and NATO pressure and violate the parity, we are forced to relax attention to other spheres of life. Clearly, satisfaction cannot be achieved, for example, by a shortage of good commodities, services... To give rise to discontent with some or other aspects of our life and to pessimism and maliciousness--this also is an aim of the policy of the militaristic circles and their propaganda.

The way out from this situation is obvious: not to hand them a "trump card" and TO WORK IN A WAY SO THAT OUR STATE WILL HAVE ENOUGH MEANS FOR ALL ITEMS OF EXPENDITURES--THIS IS A SIMPLE AND CLEAR RESPONSE TO THOSE WHO ARE ATTEMPTING TO WEAR US OUT.

WE DO NOT NEED AN ARMS RACE. WE HAVE NO NO NEED FOR "STAR WARS." WE HAVE OTHER AREAS TO APPLY OUR STRENGTH AND MEANS. BUT IF A NEW ROUND OF THIS RACE IS FORCED UPON US, WE WILL NOT GIVE IN AND NOT OVEREXERT OURSELVES.

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IMF, IBRD LENDING POLICIES ASSAILED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 86 p 5

[Article by O. Tsarev: "The Gilded Paths"]

[Text] Assiduous American reporters have begun to note that recently the representatives of certain debtor-countries seeking to lighten the burden of payments on their foreign loans and arriving in Washington for this purpose first head not for the headquarters of the International Monetary Fund but rather for the building of the U.S. Treasury Department, which is located across the street from the White House. Such a route is an involuntary acknowledgement of the dominant position of the United States in the international financial organizations.

Although the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) or, as it is still called, the World Bank were created in the mid-1940's as specialized institutions of the UN, the procedures which have been established in them by the United States and the other capitalist countries have nothing in common with the principles by which the UN is guided. The IMF and the IBRD apply the anti-democratic principle of "weighted voting," in accordance with which the number of votes which this or that member has at its disposal depends on the amount of capital which it has invested. As the most powerful financial and economic country in the post-war capitalist world, the United States made sure that it provided itself with 19.83 percent of the votes in the IMF and 21 percent of those in the World Bank. This allows the United States, acting in concert with its associates, to effectively block decisions which do not suit them.

The sum-total of the loans granted every year by the IMF and the World Bank amounts to billions of dollars, but this hardly makes them philanthropic entities. For example, the World Bank itself borrows money from the international capital market. In exchange it issues securities--bonds--which on the stock markets have the highest AAA rating; this means the most reliable guarantee that the money owed will be returned with a high interest rate. The money accumulated in this way is loaned out by the World Bank to those who need it, mainly the developing countries. Naturally, in order to justify the AAA rating, the loan is hedged about with extremely rigid conditions, ensuring not only that the debt be paid back with interest and on schedule but also with a certain amount accruing to the Bank itself. It would, perhaps, be difficult to think up a better way for enriching capital depositors in the West at the expense of the "Third World" countries.

If the World Bank grants targeted credits for carrying out certain specific economic projects, the "aid" of the IMF is directed basically at liquidating the deficits in the current balances of payments of countries which are experiencing economic difficulties. The general recommendation of the IMF in such cases is quite simple: in order to straighten out the balance of payments, it is necessary to export more. In practice this uncomplicated formula turns out to have very serious consequences.

In granting credit to overcome financial difficulties, the IMF, in fact, acquires for itself the right to control the economic policy of the borrower-country and to interfere in its internal affairs. The IMF's conditions for extending credits are even stricter than those of the World Bank. They include devaluation of the national currency, reduction of state expenditures (the budget), limiting imports and encouraging the export sectors. At first glance, these requirements in the light of the assigned task of "export or die" appear to make good sense, but a detailed interpretation paints quite a different picture.

To be sure, currency devaluation for a certain short-term period is capable of making a country's export items more attractive by means of lowering the prices on them. At the same time, devaluation leads to a significant rise in prices within the borrower-country, a decline in real wages, a reduction of internal demand, and therefore, to stagnation within the non-exporting sectors of industry, and a worsening of the working people's standard of living.

Reducing the budgetary expenditures, in the final analysis, does benefit the balance of payments, but here too there is a big question--on what items of the budget should it be done? The IMF demands the elimination of state subsidies to support low prices on consumer goods, cutting down expenditures on social needs, education, medical services, and the sale of state enterprises to private capital.

Limiting imports does have a direct relationship to improving the status of the balance of payments, but by ascribing an excessive importance to it the IMF practically deprives the country of the necessary raw materials, spare parts, and equipment, without which the normal development of an economy is impossible. And, of course, encouraging the development of the export sectors is just like caring for one branch of a the withering tree of the national economy. Moreover, it is not even a strong branch. Developing countries can usually furnish for export only one or two types of products, most frequently, raw materials. And the success of their foreign trade depends entirely upon the world prices on what they are selling. These prices depend, in turn, upon the demand for raw material in the developed capitalist countries, on the status of their economy. In recent years the prices on raw materials have been constantly declining, and now certain developing countries have been forced to appeal to the IMF for new credits in order to compensate for the damage caused by this.

Even Western economists agree that the IMF prescriptions are not a program for economic growth but merely a belt tightening. And the IMF's basic formula: export more and import less seems paradoxical on a worldwide scale. If it were to be followed by every member-country of the Fund, for example, if the United States, the FRG, and Japan attempted to maintain such a policy, then world

trade would simply be jammed up. But in actual practice something else happens: the developed capitalist countries hedge themselves around with protective barriers, but they themselves through this very same World Bank and IMF manage to secure for themselves conditions for penetrating into the markets of the developing countries.

Here we cannot help but raise the following question: if the World Bank constitutes a reliable channel of enrichment for investors, while the IMF is an excellent instrument for interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states, then have they set themselves the goal of genuinely facilitating the economic development of the "Third World"? Is it really necessary for the West that the developing countries square their shoulders and crowd the trans-national corporations?

The activation in recent times of the role played by the United States in the international financial organizations has certainly not been caused by the lack of any positive results of their activities, although in their words the American representatives have been expressing worries in this regard. The Washington geopoliticians see in the difficult position of the developing countries a convenient moment for subordinating them to the will of the West, for implanting their own monopolies there.

The renovated American position on the questions of granting new loans to members of the IMF and the World Bank boils down to the following two, principal factors. First, a tightening up of the conditions for granting new loans, with an emphasis on a "program of restructuring" - the economy and lumping together the demands of the IMF and the IBRD on the borrower-countries. What they have in mind by "restructuring" the economy is, above all, the elimination or the limitation of the state sector in the economies of the developing countries. Thus, under the conditions of its latest IMF loan, the government of the Philippines will have to sell to private capital 315 enterprises which are either the property of the state or are under its control.

And the second thing which Washington would like to accomplish is not to allow infringement upon the interests of those American banks which are the biggest creditors of the developing countries. With this goal in mind, U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker has proposed the creation, under the IMF aegis, of a fund to assist the poorest states, to increase the volume of loans made by commercial banks to the Latin American countries upon the guarantees of the World Bank, as well as other similar measures. It is obvious that most of the credits from this fund and through other financial channels, after scarcely being added to the accounts of the debtor-countries, will move over in the form of interest payments on debts and on the amortization of indebtedness into the safes of American banks.

But this is not what the developing countries want. They are demanding that there be an easing of the conditions for the granting of new loans and that a moratorium be declared on payment of the debts. They are insisting that the countries of the West abandon the policy of protectionism in foreign trade and that they establish fair prices on raw materials and industrial products. And taken as a whole, they are for the establishment of a new international economic system.

It is precisely such a system, as noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which guarantees the equal economic security of all states.

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, COEXISTENCE

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVZANIYE in Russian No 5, May 86 pp 36-43

[Article by doctor of legal sciences, Professor V. Sobakin: "The Soviet Conception of a Secure World"]

[Text] The relationship of communists to war and peace is expressed in its most general form by one of Lenin's principles which was included in the new edition of the CPSU Program as one of its main theses: "A world without wars, without weapons is the ideal of socialism." The course of history has been such that the Soviet state and other socialist countries have had to fight for this ideal, and must continue to do so today, in a situation where they are opposed by a state with another social system. Under these conditions, since the very first years of its existence the Soviet Union has based its conception of a secure world on a desire for universal confirmation, in international relations, of the principle of peaceful coexistence as a universally recognized norm of state relations that is observed by all.

In the almost 70 years of the Soviet state's existence fundamental changes occurred in the world arena both in regard to the very essence and scope of the threats to peace and in the development and power of the forces opposing these threats. And preserving the constancy of its foreign political principles and goals, in every stage of these changes the Soviet Union has proposed a complex of concrete measures to the international community capable of insuring peace and security within the historical situation faced at the time.

The Soviet conception of a secure world developed following the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in relation to modern conditions is expounded in the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress. It was developed on the basis of a sober analysis of the international situation as it has actually evolved and of the trends of its development.

The following factors dominate the approach itself to solving the problems of security in the modern world.

Formation of the world socialist system and formation and consolidation of the socialist fraternity have led to fundamental change in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favor of peoples struggling for

social progress, democracy, national liberty and peace. Establishment of military strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, was a historical achievement of socialism. Maintaining this equilibrium is a serious factor ensuring peace and international security.

Imperialism is attempting to take social revenge on a world scale, to solve all contradictions separating the two worlds with force and to translate the competition between the two systems into the language of military confrontation. Having no desire to reckon with the political realities, and striving to deprive sovereign peoples of their right to select their path of development themselves, it is threatening their security. The threat of war emanates chiefly from U.S. imperialism. In this case the threat of a global military conflict which could have neither victors nor vanquished as its result but which could cause world civilization to perish arose for the first time in history as a result of the race of nuclear and other arms unleashed by imperialism.

The real dialectics of modern world development are a combination of competition and confrontation between the two systems and growing interdependence of states in the world community. A contradictory but interdependent world, integrated in many ways, is evolving through the struggle of these contradictions. Objective conditions in which the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can proceed exclusively in the forms of peaceful coexistence and peaceful rivalry have evolved. No matter how great the threat to peace generated by the policies of aggressive imperialist circles might be, world war is not unavoidable. The aggressive policy of imperialism is opposed by the growing potential of the forces of peace. The latter are represented by the active, consistently peace-loving policy of the socialist states and their growing economic and defensive might. By the policy of the overwhelming majority of Asian, African and Latin American states vitally interested in preserving peace and halting the arms race. By the antiwar movements of the widest popular masses on all continents--movements which have become a long-term, influential factor of social life. Sober consideration of the real correlation of forces in the world arena is making even many politicians in capitalist states understand the danger of continuing and widening the arms race.

All of these new realities put the problem of insuring international security in an entirely new light. Development of a new approach to this problem, achievement of a major turning point in the thinking behind foreign policy and its introduction into practical international relations is a deeply revolutionary task, upon the fulfillment of which not only the destiny but even the very existence of mankind depend.

The principles of the new way of political thinking are summarized in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress. "The nature of today's weapons," it reads, "is such that no state can hope to defend itself only by military-technical means--for example by creating even the most powerful defenses. To a continually increasing degree security is a political problem, and it can be solved only by political means.... Security cannot be based ad infinitum on retaliation--that is, on the doctrines of "restraint" or "deterrence."

Throughout the entire history of international relations, states treated armed force, reinforced by military alliances with other states if the possibility for this was there, as the main, fundamental and often even the sole means of insuring their security. Thus the pattern of the actions of even peace-loving states was based on the principle that every potential aggressor must always know that were he to initiate a war, he would encounter the combined armed forces of other countries, and that his aggression would be unsuccessful. A system of armed mutual assistance, of individual and collective defense, and correspondingly the presence of armed forces capable of destroying any aggressor were viewed as necessary conditions for restraining, for deterring him, and thus averting aggression.

Today, life insistently demands a decisive break with this thousand-year-old tradition and practice, continuation of which in the presence of nuclear missiles can make the problem of mankind's survival insoluble, because it would sharply increase the risk and possibility of not only criminally conscious initiation of a nuclear war but also an "accidental" catastrophe brought about by failures and errors in technical devices of increasing complexity servicing the nuclear missile complexes.

Naturally, forces which continue to hope to insure security chiefly through military-technical resources, through new "superweapons"--space weapons this time--with a disregard for the interests of both all of mankind and their own nation, resist such a statement of the issue. This pertains chiefly to militaristic circles of U.S. imperialism. "As far as relations between the USSR and the USA are concerned," emphasizes the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress, "security can only be mutual, while if we consider international relations as a whole, it can only be universal. The greatest wisdom lies not in showing concern for oneself exclusively, and all the more so at the expense of the other side. All must feel equally secure, because the fears and anxieties of the nuclear age generate unpredictability in policy and concrete actions."

It is a modern reality that there cannot be a secure USSR without a secure USA, a secure Warsaw Pact without a secure NATO. And without such mutual security, there cannot be universal security. This statement of the problem is not an abstract or demonstrative philanthropy on our part. The fact is that lessened U.S. security in comparison with the Soviet Union, change of the strategic balance in favor of the latter, would be disadvantageous to the Soviet Union itself, because this would intensify the suspicions of the other side, and increase the instability of the overall situation, thus raising the risk of a nuclear confrontation that would be identically disastrous to all.

The new approach to solving the security problem also demarcates the limits of effectiveness of military strategic parity as one of the means of preserving peace. It performs this function today by insuring equal danger to both of the opposing sides, inasmuch as the level to which the balance of their nuclear potentials has risen is immeasurably high. The important conclusion that continuing the nuclear arms race--that is, increasing this equal danger--can go to such limits that even parity would cease to be a factor of military-

political restraint was reached in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress. Hence follows the urgent requirement of considerably lowering the level of military opposition, not only to forestall nuclear catastrophe but also to create truly equal security for all, security which could be guaranteed not by a rising or even by a steady strategic balance, but rather by the lowest possible strategic balance, from which nuclear and other forms of weapons of mass destruction should be completely eliminated.

If we are to achieve universal recognition of this truth, we would have to work hard and long, because the ruling circles of the NATO countries, and chiefly the USA, continue to base their practical policies on the inevitable perpetuation of nuclear weapons which would supposedly be impossible to annihilate and which would serve as a "guarantee" of peace.

The modern approach to the problems of security must unavoidably be organized with regard for the fact that these problems have to be solved in a diverse and fast-changing world. "The world is in a process of swift changes," asserts the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress, "and no one is capable of maintaining a permanent status quo within it. It consists of many dozens of states, each of which has its own fully lawful interests. A task of fundamental nature faces them--all of them without exception: Mastering the science and art of behaving with restraint and circumspection in the international arena, living in a civilized manner--that is, in the conditions of proper international communication and cooperation, and all without closing their eyes to the existing social, political and ideological contradictions."

The security of states and peoples is a multifaceted category. Its assurance requires not only guarantees against direct armed aggressions but also against all forms of interference from without, against attempts to deprive peoples of their inalienable right of free choice of their own path of development. Given the growing interdependence of states, their security--especially that in countries where internal life still suffers from the consequences of colonialism--may be disturbed quite "effectively" by economic methods. Therefore in addition to disarmament, a system of economic security which would equally protect each state against discrimination, sanctions and other manifestations of imperialist, neocolonial policy must also become a reliable foundation of international security.

The Basic Principles of a Universal System of International Security, formulated in the Political Report, have become an integral part of the Soviet conception of a secure world. These basic principles logically derive from provisions of the CPSU Program, and they are fully in keeping with the concrete Soviet foreign political initiatives proposed in M. S. Gorbachev's declaration of 15 January 1986. A distinguishing feature of the basic principles is that security is viewed by them as an all-embracing category, one encompassing the military, political, economic and humanitarian areas of international life. In each of these principles, the philosophy of a secure world in the nuclear-space era is translated into the language of concrete measures that would promote practical attainment of this goal.

In the military area, the basic principles foresee:

rejection, by the nuclear powers, of war against one another or against third states--both nuclear and conventional;

a prohibition on an arms race in space, cessation of all testing of nuclear weapons and their total elimination, prohibition and annihilation of chemical weapons, rejection of the creation of other resources of mass eradication;

strictly monitored reduction of the military potentials of states to the limits of reasonable sufficiency;

disbandment of military groupings and, as a prelude to this, abandonment of their expansion and formation of new groupings;

proportionate and commensurate reduction of military budgets.

As we can see, the Soviet conception of a secure world is based on the idea that the realities of the modern world impose special responsibility namely on the nuclear powers for insuring universal security that is equal for all, and for preserving life itself on earth.

To go on, the Soviet conception of a secure world requires not only that states obligate themselves politically and legally not to resort to war, but also--what is extremely important--that material guarantees insuring actual prevention of armed collisions be created.

The central direction of creating such guarantees would be total elimination of nuclear weapons and attainment of universal agreement that these weapons must never again be resurrected. The program for doing so was formulated in Gorbachev's declaration of 15 January 1986. As we know, this program also suggests constructive proposals on prohibition of an arms race in space, cessation of all nuclear weapon tests and annihilation of chemical weapons.

The simplest and most easily attainable measure in this direction would be total cessation of all nuclear weapon testing. The Soviet Union has long been working to achieve international agreement on this issue. On 6 August 1985 the USSR declared a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, and then it extended this moratorium, despite the fact that the USA continued with its nuclear weapon testing program. On 29 March 1986 the American side was given one more chance to make the responsible decision. In his televised speech Gorbachev proposed a meeting with President Reagan to reach agreement on cessation of testing, announcing concurrently that the USSR would not conduct nuclear explosions even after 31 March--that is, after the Soviet's moratorium expires, if the USA were to do the same. The immediately following refusal of the American administration to even discuss this real step toward cessation of the nuclear arms race graphically demonstrates exactly which side is putting up obstacles along this path.

Reduction of the military potentials of states to the limits of reasonable sufficiency, which presupposes coordinated reduction of conventional arms and armed forces, would be another material guarantee of a secure world. Carrying out the proposal made by Gorbachev on 18 April 1986 to significantly reduce all components of the ground troops and tactical aviation in European states, as well as corresponding U.S. and Canadian forces in Europe, would be an important step in this direction. Concurrently with conventional arms, operational and tactical nuclear weapons would be reduced as well.

In the political area, the universal system of international security presupposes:

unconditional respect, in international practice, of the right of each nation to sovereignly select the paths and forms of its development;

just political resolution of international crises and regional conflicts; development of a complex of measures aimed at strengthening trust between states and at creating effective guarantees against attacks upon them from without, inviolability of their borders;

development of effective methods of preventing international terrorism, to include assurance of the safety of using international ground, air and sea lines of communication.

It is evident just from this list alone of the political measures foreseen by the basic principles that neither international security nor the security of individual states could be insured without their implementation, even if the threat of world war were to be eliminated by the nuclear powers.

Of course, these political measures could not be implemented unless mutual trust between states with different social systems is established and maintained. This point is treated in Gorbachev's declaration of 15 January 1986 as an inseparable component of the relations between states. Concurrently the spirit itself of the declaration and of the basic principles, and the content of the measures foreseen by them, show that if we are to create, maintain and deepen trust, we need to maintain a constructive attitude toward the point of view and proposals of the other side, we need to recognize and heed its lawful interests as well as the rights of other countries and peoples, and we must have the political will to attain mutually acceptable agreements (especially on today's central problem--security) and to comply with them strictly.

As was indicated above, the Soviet vision of a secure world also embraces the economic area, which foresees:

exclusion of all forms of discrimination from international practice; rejection of the policy of economic blockades and sanctions, if such actions are not directly foreseen by recommendations of the world community;

a joint search for ways to justly resolve the debt problem;

establishment of a new world economic order guaranteeing equal economic security of all states;

development of the principles of utilizing, for the good of the world community and chiefly the developing countries, a portion of the assets which would be released as a result of reducing military budgets;

unification of efforts in exploration and peaceful use of space, and in solution of global problems upon which the fate of civilization depends.

Once again we observe that the components of this unified complex of measures insuring universal security are interrelated and mutually supplementary. On one hand economic cooperation has great political significance, promoting consolidation of peace and relations of peaceful coexistence. On the other hand implementation of measures in the military areas such as prohibition of an arms race in space and reduction of military budgets would serve as the necessary precondition for insuring security in the economic sphere.

The general political obligation foreseen by the basic principles to respect the right of each nation to sovereignly select the paths and forms of its development naturally materializes in the economic sphere in the form of the requirement to exclude all forms of discrimination and to reject the policy of blockades and sanctions which, experience shows, are utilized namely in attempts to deprive nations and states of their freedom and even the possibility itself of exercising their sovereign rights.

At the same time the Soviet conception of a secure world, the roots of which are planted in the soil of reality, takes heed of the fact that sanctions may not only be justified but also necessary when the discussion turns to influencing states that violate the rights of other peoples (for example Israel and South Africa). The lawfulness of such sanctions and the rules of their use are directly foreseen, for example, by the UN Charter. Implementation of the United Nations' recommendations on this issue has a direct relationship to the political area of insuring security: Their implementation would promote the exercise of the rights of peoples to freedom and independence, and their protection against aggressive actions.

As practical experience has demonstrated, the real security of a country and the freedom and independence of its people would be unimaginable without a strong, independent economy free of the fetters of foreign dominance. This is why the Soviet conception of a secure world also includes, as an integral part, the need for just resolution of the debt problem and establishment of a new world economic order guaranteeing equal economic security for all states.

As real experience shows, international tension and mistrust between states, which undermine universal security, are generated not only by military-political confrontation but also by the brainwashing of public opinion with the purpose of inciting enmity and hatred of certain nations in relation to others. This is why the Soviet conception of a secure world also embraces the humanitarian area, which foresees:

cooperation in dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament and international security; attainment of a higher level of general objective informativeness, and mutual acquaintance of peoples with the lives of each other; reinforcement of a spirit of mutual understanding and consent in relations between them;

eradication of genocide, apartheid, propagation of fascism and all other racial, national or religious discrimination, and of discrimination against people on this basis;

expansion of international cooperation in exercising the political, social and personal rights of man, while respecting the laws of each country;

solution, in a humanitarian and positive spirit, of the problems of reuniting families, performing marriages and developing contacts between people and between organizations;

reinforcement of cooperation in culture, art, science, education and medicine, and determination of new forms of such cooperation.

Obviously the Soviet proposals in the humanitarian area could be opposed only by extremely reactionary forces trying to preserve their undermined positions by means of misinformation and slander, propagation of misanthropic ideas, pursuit of a policy of violence and terror, and subversion of international cooperation. But these forces are incapable of halting progressive development of human society.

A typical trait of the Soviet conception is that it not only determines the essence of a new approach to solving the problems of security and formulates the basic principles of the system that is to be created on the basis of this approach, but it also proposes practical ways and methods of stage-by-stage attainment of this goal.

The Soviet conception is an integrated program of mutually related and mutually supplementary measures. But this has nothing to do with rigid either-or demands or attempts to "make concessions" in one direction so as to create obstacles to forward progress in others. This has nothing to do with the "either-or demands" and "conditions" proposed, as an example, in President Reagan's reply to Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 declaration, and which do nothing to promote solution of the concrete problems of disarmament, but which in fact serve as obstacles.

In contrast to this, the CPSU bases its foreign policy strategy on the realities of the modern world, displaying restraint and the greatest responsibility in its decision making, firmness in defending its principles and positions and, concurrently, tactical flexibility, a preparedness for mutual acceptable compromises, and an orientation not on confrontation but rather on dialogue and mutual understanding. Evidence of this can be found in certain steps of our state such as introduction of a unilateral moratorium on deployment of medium-range missiles, reduction of their numbers, cessation of all nuclear explosions and meticulous preparation for summit talks and for other international negotiations.

The basic principles of creating a universal system of international security could also become the starting point and a unique frame of reference for direct, systematic dialogue between leaders of countries in the world community--both bilateral and multilateral. All states, both large and small, can and must take part in the search for solutions to the security problem, irrespective of their potential, geographic position and membership to certain social systems.

In its Program the CPSU expressed its support for creating and utilizing international mechanisms and institutions which would make it possible to find an optimum relationship between national and state interests and the interests of all mankind. In particular, our party supports augmenting the role of the United Nations in strengthening peace and developing international cooperation.

Creation of a universal system of international security requires the efforts of all states; consequently the United Nations must play a larger role as the center of cooperation among states. The United Nations is in a position to make its contribution to forming the political, legal, moral and psychological guarantees of international security.

Dialogue among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council--the nuclear powers, upon whom the main burden of responsibility for the fate of mankind lies, is especially important. The proposal that the leaders of these countries convene at a round table and discuss what can and should be done to strengthen peace, proposed by the 27th CPSU Congress, is permeated with an awareness of this responsibility.

The program proposed by our country for eliminating mass annihilation weapons and averting the danger of war and the Basic Principles of a Universal System of International Security are encountering growing support throughout the entire world. Fraternal socialist countries, communist and workers parties and representatives of national liberation movements and of other progressive forces have expressed full support for the peace-loving strategy of the 27th CPSU Congress. "Together with the Soviet Union, with countries of the Warsaw Pact, with progressive and democratic forces of the whole world, with all who hate war," said Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee general secretary, Chairman of the Bulgarian State Council Todor Zhivkov from the podium of the 27th CPSU Congress, "we will continue to fight relentlessly to preserve peace, civilization and life on the planet. And let all people on earth know that we, the communists, believe in the sole reasonable path charted by the great Lenin in his famous Peace Decree. We see the new Soviet initiatives and actions and the Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress as a continuation of this decree." Speaking in behalf of countries which had cast off the shackles of colonial dependence, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA--the Labor Party, stressed: "We consistently support the constructive policy of disarmament and peace pursued by the Soviet Union, and we view it as one of the most important contributions to detente and to rescuing mankind from a new world war."

It can be said without any exaggeration that the Soviet initiatives have become a dominant factor in the search for ways to halt the arms race and to preserve human civilization. Thus, commenting on the proceedings of the congress, A. Benn [transliteration], a prominent official of Great Britain's Labor Party, declared that "the Soviet Union's initiatives directed at creating a universal system of international security, confirming the ideals of peace and real disarmament and rejecting thermonuclear and chemical arms, and its proposal to reallocate assets to socioeconomic development have generated new, promising hopes for all mankind."

American imperialism would like to force nations to reconcile themselves with the nuclear threat, to learn to live with it. But mankind would never agree to this. American "hawks" are opposed by powerful forces that are fully resolved to achieve detente in the world arena and create a universal system of international security.

Of course, the struggle to create such a system would require enormous effort. It was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress that this would be a complex, multifaceted struggle, since we must deal with a society in which the ruling circles do not wish to soberly evaluate the realities of the modern world and the prospects of its development, or to make serious conclusions from their own experience and the experience of others.

The Soviet conception of a secure world expresses the objective demands of mankind, and it is based on the growing potential of peace, reason and goodwill. The tendency for change in the correlation of forces in its favor is stable, and irreversible in principle. That is the foundation of our optimistic view on world development and on success in the struggle for making peaceful coexistence the supreme universal principle of international relations.

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

DISCUSSION OF CHANGES IN WAGE STRUCTURE, QUALITY OF WORK

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 19, May 86 p 20

[Article by O. Barinov, an expert in the CEMA Secretariat's Combined Economic Work Department: "Greater High Quality Production With Fewer Numbers"]

[Text] The decisions of the economic meeting of the CEMA member countries at the highest level numbered the rational use of material and labor resources among the main tasks of the fraternal countries' cooperation. The completion of the planned volume of work with the least number of personnel has become one of the most important indicators in the intensification of the national economy.

The work along this avenue in the CEMA countries is being done based on improving labor organization forms and material incentives. The incentive measures, which are being carried out in progressive enterprises, are developing into complex systems that insure the achievement of high results in many labor collectives. These systems are interconnected with the measures to improve planning and cost accounting.

At the level of the enterprises and associations the effectiveness of incentives is primarily insured by the mechanism for forming wage funds and also by expanding the rights of the enterprises in using the assets from these funds.

With A Consideration of Distinctive Features

The CEMA countries use different methods for forming wage assets depending on the distinctive features of the economic mechanisms in effect and the specific nature of the social and economic tasks being solved. Thus, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is developing an outcome-residual principle under which the wage fund of labor collectives is formed as the end result which is obtained during the distribution of the newly established costs in economic organizations and enterprises. The size of the fund is connected with the level and dynamics of the profits that are realized during the sale of products.

The German Democratic Republic plans the absolute size of this fund for combines and enterprises depending on the level of labor productivity and other results of economic activity considering the number of workers and employees and the increase in average wages.

The Socialist Republic of Romania fixes the wage fund with a consideration for the labor-intensiveness of the production program and distributes it to individual enterprises, sections, shops and brigades depending on the planned structure of production and labor expenditures.

The Republic of Cuba, Mongolia, the USSR and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have adopted a standard method for forming the wage fund.

In all the above-mentioned methods, operating with fewer personnel is materially encouraged by granting enterprises the right to use the obtained wage savings either completely or partially to provide incentives to workers. Thus, up to 50 percent of the saved average annual wages can be used in the German Democratic Republic.

In a number of CEMA countries the formation of incentive funds supplements the interest in working with fewer numbers based on the formation of a wage fund. In particular, the German Democratic Republic forms a bonus fund which is based on a definite sum per worker whose absolute size is determined by the higher organization and also based on deductions for overfulfilling individual primary indicators of the activity of combines and enterprises. As a rule, the deductions are established for fulfilling two of the most important indicators, for example, net production and net profit. The fact that additional deductions to the bonus fund are made from the account for the planned number of workers establishes the material interest of enterprises in achieving the projected indicators with the fewest number of personnel.

A reduction in personnel can also be stimulated through the resources of the corresponding director's fund that is formed from net profit with a consideration for the prescribed state limits. In a number of countries an important role is allotted to such financial levers as payments in the budget depending on the number of personnel engaged in production.

The collective interest in fulfilling the assigned volume of work with the fewest number of personnel, which is created with the help of the mechanism for forming wage funds, is being supplemented by the appropriate organization of wages and the awarding of bonuses.

Preferred Forms

The analysis of the experience of the majority of the fraternal countries in this area, which was conducted within the framework of the meeting of the directors of the CEMA member countries' state labor bodies, shows that the following are the most effective incentive forms:

-- the introduction of new tariff conditions within the limits of the planned wage fund at the expense of one's own resources obtained by reducing the number of personnel. In the German Democratic Republic, enterprises, which have shifted to these labor payment conditions are adopting increased obligations with respect to increasing labor productivity and reducing the number of work positions. In the USSR, during an experiment on the Belorussian Railroad, approximately 12,000 workers were released for other branches in a short time.

The introduction of new tariff conditions for paying for labor contributed significantly to this.

-- intensifying the differentiation between minimum and maximum rates (salaries) provided by the tariff system. In the People's Republic of Bulgaria, tariff rates for such criteria as the level of qualification, work results, the combining of related trades, simultaneous operation of several machines, the application of progressive experience, and other items can be increased for individual workers by a decision of a brigade's general meeting. Resources for increasing the tariff rates are allotted in a planned manner from the wage fund in an amount equal to two percent of its total. In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the higher body can permit payments for labor according to a tariff scale with seven-percent rate increases under the conditions of the simultaneous operation of several machines and a high degree of labor intensity if the percentage of productively expended time averages 85 percent.

-- establishing additional payment for combining trades and expanding the simultaneous operation of several machines.

The incentive system for combining trades has received widespread dissemination in the Republic of Cuba. Additional payments for combining trades is used in the majority of branches in the USSR. The system for paying for the labor of those who operate several machines simultaneously in the CEMA countries is aimed at strengthening the workers' material interest in improving labor productivity. Thus, the payment of workers simultaneously operating several machines in the People's Republic of Bulgaria occurs on the basis of product quantity and quality and estimates that have been approved considering the indicators which describe the improvement in using machinery and saving raw materials, materials and energy. In the USSR, under the conditions of simultaneous multi-machine operation the tariff rate for determining piece-rate calculations is increased within the limits of 0.4 to one percent -- depending on the types of production and branches -- for each percent of increase in established norms; with a shift to operating a larger number of machines, which is accompanied by the establishment of higher operating norms compared with branch standard norms, the piece-rate calculations are increased up to 15 percent depending on the trade group.

-- paying incentive increments to specialists considering their contributions to savings in manpower. For example, in the Mongolian People's Republic, the directors and engineer technical workers of shops and sections, who have insured an increase in labor productivity and a decrease in the number of personnel through technical and organizational measures, are paid increments in an amount equal to 30 percent of the monthly position wage rate. In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, an increment to the position wage rate can be established for specialists depending on work results based on a number of criteria which include initiative directed toward saving manpower.

-- The one-time awarding of bonuses (along with systematic ones) for fulfilling the assigned amount and better quality of work with fewer personnel also plays an active role in the task of encouraging individual workers and labor collectives. In Romania, for example, workers who participate in conducting measures

aimed at saving manpower and introducing changes in labor norms, are paid bonuses from the wage fund. During the first year after the introduction of the appropriate measures, the amount of the bonus can be up to 30 percent of the value of the realized savings; during the second year — 10 percent; and during the third — 5 percent. In the German Democratic Republic, bonuses are paid from the saved compensation assets for innovative proposals to save labor resources. The size of the bonuses is calculated using a scale based on the annual effect from incorporating the proposals.

— spreading collective forms for organizing and stimulating labor with payments based on final results, an important variety of which are the piece-work forms for paying for labor (People's Republic of Bulgaria and Socialist Republic of Romania) and the collective contract (USSR). The material interest in reducing the number of personnel is achieved here through the fact that the total payment, which is determined by the plan or contract with the administration for the amount of work based on existing norms and standards for labor expenditures, is put down to the brigade's account. The brigade receives this sum completely when it fulfills the task with fewer personnel. Labor participation coefficients are used to determine the individual wages of the brigade members, for example, in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the USSR, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

For More Precise Norms

In encouraging working with fewer numbers of personnel, the improvement of rate setting for labor, which would permit labor expenditures to be measured and considered in the norms and standards more realistically, has special importance. It creates an opportunity for the sound application of multi-machine operation and the combining of trades and positions. A great deal of work in this area has been performed in the CEMA member countries during recent years.

In the People's Republic of Bulgaria, servicing norms and personnel quotas have been developed and introduced for a number of primary and subsidiary operations. The encouragement of workers, who are working under advanced norms, is also accomplished by setting individual wages with a consideration for their personal contribution to collective results. Workers who are the initiators of a revision can also be given an incentive of a one-time award from part of the savings in the wage fund and from special-purpose rewards.

The savings in labor resources under improved labor efficiency is accompanied in the CEMA countries either by the transfer of workers within the enterprise or by their mandatory job placement outside it. In accordance with existing legislation, a socialist state guarantees the protection of a worker's interests with the help of certain benefits and guarantees when he is transferred to a new job.

Being a multi-plan and complicated process, the improvement of forms and methods encouraging savings in labor resources is acquiring ever greater economic and social importance under modern conditions.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

CPSU PARTY PROGRAM ON REVOLUTION, LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 2-5

[Article by V. Li, doctor of historical sciences: "Enriching the Strategy of the Revolutionary-Liberation Struggle"]

[Excerpts] The CPSU Congresses which are convened every 5 years are an event of great political importance in the life not only of our country. They also have intransient significance for the development of the current world revolutionary movement. The international authority of the Soviet communists regularly stems from the invaluable historical experience accumulated by the Leninist party in the struggle for national and social liberation of the workers and for the preservation and strengthening of world peace. The national-colonial question and problems of emancipation and social progress of peoples have always occupied a special place in the international strategy of the CPSU.

The basic strategic directives which received unanimous approval at the 27th Party Congress were an important contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolutionary-liberation struggle. This relates primarily to such aspects of this theory as the relation of the objective and the subjective, the role of the conscious revolutionary avant-garde in the political activity of the masses, the means of consolidating unity of the anti-imperialist forces, and other questions which occupy an important place in the complex of key problems in the formational development of ante-colonial societies.

PECULIARITIES OF THE NON-CAPITALISTIC TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

The basic theoretical directives of the CPSU Program on means of social progress of the liberated countries rest on the vital achievements of the revolutionary-liberation movement in the past 2-3 decades. First of all, during this time there was a final collapse of the centuries-old system of colonial enslavement of peoples. Secondly, the national-liberation revolutions in an entire group of states began to grow into social revolutions, directed against any exploitative relations. And thirdly, the working class began to act ever more assuredly and decisively on the political arena of these countries, gathering around it the broadest non-proletarian strata of the working people.

The new edition of the CPSU Program--the basic theoretical document of the party--clearly and sequentially exposes the relation of such key concepts as the "non-capitalistic means of development" and the "socialist orientation," which are related to a single conceptual series as rather similar scientific

categories. This comprehensively considers the huge positive experience of the revolutionary-democratic, workers' and communist movement of the liberated countries, which views socialist orientation as a unique form of non-capitalistic transition to the socialist goal which best corresponds to the current situation.

How is this peculiarity manifested as compared to the known models of such development in Soviet Central Asia and in the socialist countries of Indochina? The socialist orientation (or more precisely, its initial phase) begins with the establishment of political power by the national-democratic forces before the working class wins the hegemonic position in the social revolution. The latter develops under the guidance of the revolutionary-democratic forces, whose nucleus is comprised of the non-proletarian strata of workers.

What are the most promising means of evolution of non-proletarian leadership to proletarian in the course of the national-democratic revolution? We find laconic, though deeply reasoned, theoretical opinions on this question in the new edition of the CPSU Program. It stems logically from the examined document that, contrary to the affirmations of numerous ideologists on neo-colonialism, not one of the liberated countries is fatally doomed to pass through all the formative phases of capitalistic evolution, from the lowest to the highest. (This is true also for those post-colonial societies where capitalistic relations have reached a moderate or even a monopolistic stage of development.) Moreover, under the current dynamics of relations between world socio-political forces and the leading spread of scientific-socialist ideas as compared with the rate and scope of class differentiation, the previously enslaved peoples have attained immeasurably expanded possibilities for rejecting capitalism and for building their future without exploiters, in the interests of the workers. This is a phenomenon of great historical significance.

The specific historical conditions of every post-colonial society, particularly the level of its economic and cultural development, as well as the arrangement of the social-class and political forces predetermine the multiplicity of the national peculiarities of socialist orientation. While in one group of post-colonial societies the primary task of the revolutionary-democratic authorities is to decisively limit the positions of large local capital, in another (the least developed group), on the contrary, the task arises of temporary and partial stimulation of private enterprise activity in order to enliven an extremely unfavorable economic situation and to elevate production forces while retaining state control.

National models of socialist orientation may differ significantly from one another also by other parameters (relative share of foreign monopolistic structure, role of the workers in the organs of self-government, acuteness of the struggle against domestic and foreign reaction, etc.). Nevertheless, the process of non-capitalistic transitional development has an entire series of general regularities, among which the new edition of the CPSU program specifies:

--first, the establishment of a progressive revolutionary authority, the transformation of the revolutionary-democratic parties into the ruling power in the political system of the transitional society;

--secondly, radical transformations in the socio-economic groundwork on the basis of liquidation of the supremacy of imperialistic monopolies, ancestral-tribal nobility, feudal elements, and reactionary bourgeoisie, and the development of strong state and cooperative sectors of the economy;

—thirdly, increasing the role of the working masses in economic and political life, i.e., a comprehensive development of the democratic principles of political-ideological mobilization of the popular masses and popular rule;

--fourth, the active protection of progressive achievements against the export of counterrevolution and the subversive actions of foreign and domestic reaction.

The very logic of the social-liberation struggle brings the peoples of socialist oriented countries to a recognition of the need for a close union with world socialism and with the international communist, workers' and general democratic movement. The path which they select answers the true interests and hopes of the popular masses. It reflects their desire for a fair social order and coincides with the main direction of mankind's development, as stressed in the new edition of the CPSU Program.

One of the key questions in the theory and practical application of the national-democratic revolutions is that of their primary moving forces. The new edition of the CPSU program document does not contain a comprehensive list of all the social-class forces formulating the political army for the revolutionary movement in the liberated countries. And this is no accident. The real experience of the national-democratic movements in the 60-80's leaves no doubt as to the fact that many of the vital interests of various working classes and strata of post-colonial society are to a significant degree integrated with such a concept as the "popular masses." This presupposes first of all the workers in the city and the village--industrial workers, the poor peasantry, petty white-collar workers, and other non-proletarian and semi-proletarian strata of workers. The ideological-political expression of the leading aspirations of these varied social-class forces is the revolutionary democracy, and particularly its left wing. Often even the national proletariat, due to its insufficient degree of formulation, continues to identify itself not so much with a specifically class position as with the revolutionary democracy and its strategy of struggle for full national liberation and social progress.

Based on the accumulated experience in the socio-political struggle in the liberated countries, the new edition of the CPSU program document gives such a balanced theoretical description of the working class in post-colonial society which, on one hand, rejects the dangerous leftist exaggeration of the role of the national proletarian detachments, yet on the other hand has nothing in common with various nihilistic conceptions which have become widespread among some of the petty bourgeois ideologists who evaluate the workers' movement

from the standpoint of their own limited, narrow-class, nationalistic interests. The new edition of the CPSU Program notes that the young and rapidly growing working class in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is faced with some difficult tasks. It is opposed by foreign capital as well as by local exploiters. Its political maturity and degree of organization takes on ever greater importance in the struggle. By far not in all the post-colonial societies has the working class already been able to stand at the head of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement. However, in the overwhelming majority of the countries of the Afro-Asian world, at its present historical stage it already represents a primary force in the broad popular coalition movement for democracy, progress, and non-capitalistic prospects for social development.

Representatives of the leading intelligentsia, the poor peasantry, and the non-proletarian urban strata of workers are ever more assuredly changing over to the ideological-political platform of the newly forming national working class. This ultimately creates a decisive balance in favor of the motivating forces of the national-democratic revolution over the forces of counterrevolution and reaction. So far as the basic content of these revolutions is objectively tied in with the all-world revolutionary process of current times and coincides with the main direction of mankind's development, the avant-garde revolutionary parties of socialist orientation already today represent a direct reserve for the world communist and workers' movement. It is therefore no accident that the principles of proletarian internationalism are ever more intensively introduced into the international ties between the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary-democratic parties (exchange of experience, assistance in training management personnel, development of coordinated positions, etc.). These principles organically tie together the national-revolutionary interests and the all-world strategy of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary-liberation movements.

All this bespeaks the fact that the problem of proletarian hegemony under conditions of socialist orientation is resolved not by means of general political declarations (this, as experience has shown, brings no benefit), but by means of an intense and goal-oriented political struggle which ultimately determines the arrangement and relationship of the social-class forces. Moreover, politically immature efforts to proclaim a "dictatorship of the proletariat" under conditions where there are neither any objective nor subjective prerequisites for this leads to a severe crisis for the entire revolutionary movement in the given country.

The historical experience of national-democratic revolutions leaves no doubt as to the fact that the non-capitalistic transition to a socialist goal bears a continually dynamic and dialectic character. Any effort to stop at the boundaries already achieved, and particularly rightist-nationalist efforts to hinder the movement of the most fervent proponents of socialist orientation onto the political arena, bear a dangerous threat of the regeneration of the entire social revolution in the direction of bourgeois-bureaucratic evolution.

SOLIDARITY, PEACE, UNITY

History has shown that the struggle against colonialism is inseparable from the movement of broadest international solidarity of all world anti-imperialist forces. The founders of scientific communism who stood at the wellspring of this movement persistently argued that a people who enslave other peoples cannot be free, that the victorious proletarian parent state cannot "force happiness" on other peoples without subverting its own positions. In other words, it cannot implement the "export of revolution" in any form.

The history of recent decades allows us to say with assurance that the basic internationalist principles and directives of our party which concern the effective support of the national-liberation movements have withstood the severe test of life itself and, most probably, will continue to determine in large part the general strategy of the current world revolutionary struggle. The bases of these principles are truth to the noble patriotic ideals of national and social liberation, irreconcilable hatred to all bearers of oppression, injustice and racial discrimination, and an international "feeling of fellowship" in the ranks of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement of the broad popular masses.

It is specifically in this connection that the new edition of the CPSU Program particularly defines the great historical significance of solidarity, political and economic cooperation of the Soviet Union with the revolutionary avant-garde of the social-liberation movement—the countries of socialist orientation which are closer to us in all the criteria—socio-political, cultural-ideological, foreign policy, etc. The examined document presents with exceptional clarity the question of the relation of international and domestic potentials of the national-democratic revolution. Every people, primarily through their own efforts, create the necessary material-technical base for building the new society and achieve an increase in the well-being and culture of the masses. Only with the creation of such a mechanism of optimal mobilization of the internal national resources can a certain state of socialist orientation be in a position to utilize with maximal effectiveness the material or other aid of the socialist states.

A comprehensive analysis of the key problems of social development of the liberated countries is implemented in the new edition of the CPSU Program on the basis of a serious historical and dialectical approach. The main direction of the coming revolutionary-liberation battles on the former colonial periphery decisively determines all the growing contradictions between the interests of the peoples and the imperialist policy of dictate and expansion, which has entered into irreconcilable conflict with the aspirations of all mankind. Life itself brings the struggling peoples to a union with world socialism.

The new edition of the CPSU Program also indicates the significant potential possibilities for further strengthening equal and mutually beneficial relations of the Soviet Union with the young sovereign states which have embarked upon a path of capitalistic development. The principle differences in the social arrangement are not a barrier to the development of cooperation and mutual understanding. In our time, the socialist and liberated states are

brought closer together by their similarity on positions taken on key problems of global development. As practice has shown, the groundwork for cooperation of the socialist and developing countries is there. It is there common vital interest in preserving peace, in strengthening international security, and in ending the ruinous arms race on the entire planet.

The numerous responses by a broad circle of the Afro-Asian community to the most significant foreign policy initiative of the USSR in recent years as presented in the Announcement of CPSU Central Committee Secretary General M. S. Gorbachev and dated 15 January 1986 have the following important idea as their common thread: The Soviet program of global peace bears an extremely clear, realistic and constructive character. Its implementation is called upon to save mankind from a thermonuclear catastrophe and guarantee the present and the coming generations a world without weapons of mass destruction. The realization of our country's peace-loving initiatives would ensure the liberated countries favorable conditions for solving the problems of economic and social development which stand before them.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

THEORY, PRACTICE OF SOCIALIST ORIENTATION IN AFRICA DISCUSSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 10-14

[Article by N. Kosukhin, doctor of historical sciences: "Historical Significance of the Course of Socialist Orientation"]

[Excerpts] The Communist Party of the Soviet Union gives much attention to the current problems of the liberated countries, the means of their development, their role in world politics and international relations, and the character and prospects of cooperation with them. It also speaks out in favor of having the increasing influence of these states promote the cause of world peace and social progress of peoples. The new edition of the CPSU Program notes the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle of the countries that have thrown off their colonial yoke and are working toward strengthening their independence. It also notes the broad prospects which the non-capitalist means of development, the means of socialist orientation, opens up for them. Their experience confirms, states the CPSU Program, that under current conditions with the relationship of powers existing in the world, the capacities of the previously enslaved peoples to reject capitalism and to build their future without exploiters and in the interests of the workers have been expanded.

The current epoch—the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism—gives numerous convincing arguments in favor of the fact that the socialist orientation coincides with the main direction of mankind's development toward a fair social order. "According to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which has been confirmed by the practice of the past decades of our century," noted Ethiopian Workers' Party Secretary General Haile-Mariam Mengistu, "backward societies, where feudal production relations predominate and where social relations have not reached a high level, may under certain conditions implement the transition to socialism. The main prerequisite for this has become the favorable situation created after the Great October Socialist Revolution by the victory of socialism first in one country, and then by its transformation into a world system."

The course of socialist orientation is not only the result of a subjective choice of the path of development by a group or party of revolutionaries. Rather, it is an objective requirement and a regular, economically determined search for a solution to the problems of social restructuring of the previously oppressed countries. Socialist orientation was manifested as a tendency of

the socio-economic development of the liberated states as early as the beginning of the 60's in such countries as Burma, Ghana, Egypt, and Mali. It took on qualitative determinacy, stability and a mass character in the 70's, when the process of intensification of social-class differentiation began in the liberated countries.

Today we have over 20 years of experience in the development of countries of socialist orientation, which has demonstrated the general traits and specific peculiarities of this course. Their practice convincingly confirms the correctness of V. I. Lenin's scientific prediction. He wrote that the struggle of peoples for national liberation will inevitably "turn against capitalism and imperialism..."¹

National-democratic revolutions are spreading in the countries of socialist orientation, and are directed against the exploitive relations--feudal as well as capitalistic. The program documents of the ruling revolutionary parties contain a broad set of measures called upon to destroy imperialist supremacy and man's exploitation by man, and to create the prerequisites for deep socio-economic and political transformations. Political power is implemented by the revolutionary democracy, which represents the left wing of the national-liberation movement, which expresses the interests of the peasantry, the working class, the petty bourgeoisie, and the patriotically inclined radical intelligentsia. In other words, [it expresses the interests] of the social strata interested in strengthening national independence and in deep social transformations which have socialist prospects.

The revolutionary regimes have inherited extremely backward socio-economic structures. Thus, the program document adopted by the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, entitled "On the National-Democratic Character of the Revolution and its Immediate Tasks Under Current Conditions", notes that "the new order has inherited a backward economy, illiteracy by most of the population, poverty, hunger, unemployment and disease, the social relations of the feudal and pre-feudal epoch, and dispersion of the democratic forces. Long and patient work is needed to bring the country onto the path of material and spiritual progress."

The weakness of the material-technical base, the scarcity of financial resources, the shortage of trained personnel--these and other factors hinder the development of the countries of socialist orientation and significantly hinder the growth of the people's well-being and the degree of fulfillment of their needs. International imperialism increases these difficulties in every way possible through its subversive activity, and speculates on the unsolved problems and miscalculations of the leaders of the revolutionary-democratic regimes. And there have been and continue to be such miscalculations and errors.

Thus, nationalization of the property of local entrepreneurs was hurriedly

¹V. I. Lenin. "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy", [Collected Works], Vol 44, p 38.

implemented in a number of countries. The Chairman of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (Chama Cha Mapinduzi--CCM) J. Nyerere recently admitted that the nationalization of agricultural farms producing sisal was an error, since there were no trained Tanzanian personnel for their effective functioning. He does not reject the principle of nationalization itself, but believes that certain economic criteria must be used as the guidelines.

It is a well known fact that the socio-political achievements of the workers may receive full development only if they rest on a strong economic base. The solution of this problem is associated with many difficulties for the revolutionaries of the Afro-Asian countries. However, considerable success has already been achieved in this sphere. The main thing is that the revolutionary-democratic authorities have taken the course toward creating such an economic system which would be controlled by the workers and would function in their interests.

We must particularly stress that the criterion for revolutionary-democratic policy is the relationship of ideological theories with social practice: the degree to which progressive slogans correspond with the implemented socio-economic measures, how the interests of the working masses are considered, and primarily the interests of the laborers and peasants, and how actively they are involved in the management of the state and in the socio-political life of the country. The program document of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party, "Basic Directions of the CCM for 1981" notes that "since socialism is directed toward changing the world and creating new bases for economics and a new social system, so socialist practice stands out as a criterion of devotion to socialism by the party and its members".

After the revolution, the difficulties of economic development are used by counterrevolutionary forces. In this sense, V. I. Lenin spoke of economics as the chief domestic enemy of the revolution which had taken place. It is specifically for this reason that the economic sphere becomes the most important field of battle for the present and the future of the liberated countries. Under these conditions, the role of the avant-garde revolutionary parties increases, armed with leading theory and capable of recognizing and utilizing the objective laws of development and organizing the conscious creativity of the masses.

The program documents of the avant-garde workers parties (Angola, Congo, Mozambique, Ethiopia) stress the fact that the task of building a new society can and must be solved only through the prolonged, persistent and patient efforts of all the workers. Constructive labor is the most important factor in accelerating social progress. At the same time, such labor facilitates the formulation of a leading consciousness and the development of the political activity of the workers. The struggle to overcome the colonial psychology of the masses, who still continue to have a negative attitude toward labor activity, equating it with forced labor, is the primary task of the avant-garde parties. Their program documents and the constitutions of young states proclaim the right to labor and the responsibility to work in the name of building a new society.

One of the primary directions of work is the struggle for profitability of the state sector. It is no accident that this activity is the object of ideological diversions by imperialism and domestic reaction, who strive

to discredit the course of socialist orientation and to direct the sentiments of the popular masses to the channel of anti-socialism, particularly since certain enterprises in the state sector are managed by people who place their personal interests first and view state property as a means of satisfying their own personal needs.

The revolutionary avant-garde parties implement ideological-political and organizational measures directed at ensuring the economic effectiveness of nationalized enterprises. The struggle against parasitic elements is taking on ever greater significance, since their form of life often presents a real threat to national rebirth and social progress.

We must remember that the course of the liberated states toward socialist orientation is implemented under different socio-economic conditions. As a result, a multivariance arises in the means of development toward socialism. Today, V. I. Lenin's remark regarding the multiplicity of the revolutionary process is rather current. After the victory of Great October, he wrote in response to the dogmatists: "...European petty bourgeois do not even dream that subsequent revolutions...in the countries of the East which are immeasurably different in the variation of social conditions, will undoubtedly bring greater uniqueness than the Russian revolution."²

The forms and methods of implementing the course of socialist orientation are also different. Each country selects its own means of general democratic transformation, which leads in the future to building a society on the basis of scientific socialism. The remarks of N. Kasimir, professor of the Higher Party School of the Congolese Labor Party, deserve attention. In his article entitled "The Concept of the Extra-Capitalistic Means of Development in Africa," published in the newspaper ETUMBA, he writes that the non-capitalist means of development is not yet specifically socialist construction, and therefore this stage is not equivalent to the transitional period, which is a component part of socialist construction.

Today, almost 20 Afro-Asian countries are following the path of socialist orientation (Algiers, Angola, Afghanistan, Benin, the Congo, Madagascar, Mozambique, Tanzania, Ethiopia and others). Their experience has shown that socialist orientation is implemented in a setting of acute class struggle, which is intensified by the multi-structural nature of society and its ethnic variation. The ruling revolutionary forces must use the method of "trial and error" to perform work on developing economic, state, and party-political structures, since the objective conditions for bringing to life this progressive course are still in the stage of formulation and development. As a result, the role of the subjective factor is intensified, creating prerequisites for building socialism in the future.

As the CPSU Program notes, in the countries of socialist orientation the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties are implementing a course toward

² Ibid., Vol 45, p 381.

liquidating the supremacy of the imperialist monopolies, the ancestral nobility, feudals and the reactionary bourgeoisie. In the economic sphere, the state sector is being strengthened, the cooperative movement in the rural areas is being encouraged, and the role of the working masses in economic and political life is increasing.

These countries have passed a number of laws which strictly limit or eliminate the supremacy of foreign monopolistic capital. Nationalized foreign private property and the extensive property of the local bourgeoisie have become the basis for development of the state sector--the economic base for revolutionary-democratic policy.

In the process of implementing the course of socialist orientation, production relations are formed which are transitional between pre-capitalistic and socialistic.

Transformations in the political sphere are also directed toward the formulation of new social relations. First of all, we must point out the destruction of the old apparatus of power, the gradual involvement of the workers in the leadership of the state, and the granting of political rights and freedoms to them. These countries have developed democratic constitutions which secure the right of the people to labor, rest, and social provision. They have adopted progressive labor legislation and introduced free education and medical services. They ascribe great importance to the struggle against tribal separatism and strengthening of national unity. For this purpose, measures are being taken to eliminate inequality in the level of economic development of the territories, inter-tribal differences are being suppressed, and literacy of the tribes and peoples is being developed.

As a new form of progressive development, socialist orientation presents a number of complex questions of a theoretical and practical character. Generalizing the experience of the revolutionary forces in the Afro-Asian countries and analyzing their achievements and difficulties, Marxist science gives a more in-depth understanding of the political and socio-economic regularities of the progress along this path.

* * *

The transition to positions of scientific socialism by the ruling forces of such countries as Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, the Congo and others facilitated the further creative development and practical application of the Marxist-Leninist conception of socialist orientation. These revolutionary regimes moved into the role of the avant-garde in the zone of socialist orientation which has significantly increased in numbers. The socio-economic transformations which are taking place there are distinguished by their great depth and continuity.

Having taken up scientific socialism as their weapon, the revolutionaries of the countries of socialist orientation have embarked upon an appropriate restructuring of the party-political structures and the development of qualitatively new party organizations. The Congolese Labor Party (CLP),

the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola--Labor Party (MPLA-LP), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the Ethiopian Workers Party (EWP) have become such organizations. The program documents of these organizations name Marxism-Leninism as the official ideology and the moral and theoretical basis of party activity.

However, it is not enough to proclaim or declare the avant-garde role of the party. V. I. Lenin wrote: "It is not enough to call out itself the 'avant-garde', the leading detachment; it is necessary also to act in such a way that all the other detachments will see and will be forced to admit that we are moving ahead."³ The affirmation of the guiding role of the party as the political leader is implemented in the process of the active and continuing struggle in all spheres of activity--political, organizational and ideological. The revolutionary forces justly stress the fact that the creation of an avant-garde party of workers is still only the beginning of a long and difficult road, progress along which is complicated by the intrigues of domestic and foreign counterrevolution. They note that underestimating these difficulties, ignoring them, going too far ahead, or inconsistency between word and deed may give rise to a crisis in trust in the party and entail serious consequences for conquest of the revolution.

As evidenced by the experience of the countries of socialist orientation, the primary goal of the avant-garde parties at the current stage is the strengthening of national independence, the expansion and strengthening of revolutionary-democratic power, and the consolidation and development of a national economy for the creation of political, ideological and material bases of socialism.

The course of the avant-garde parties toward the creative application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific national and historical peculiarities of the African countries finds its expression in the implementation of the Leninist conception of non-capitalist development of former colonial peoples, in the utilization of experience gained by the countries of the socialist alliance, in the attitude toward foreign and private capital, in the development of a state sector, in the restructuring of small-scale commodity production, in economic planning, and in the implementation of agrarian reforms and cooperatives. The avant-garde parties strive to organize different types of operational control at the enterprises, to encourage socialist competition, and to create organs of people's authority.

The success of the socio-economic policy of the avant-garde workers parties depends on the creative application of the theory and experience of the countries of the socialist alliance, on the capacity to bring together and mobilize the broad masses for the fulfillment of national-economic tasks, and on increasing the competency of the management personnel and the level of political leadership, which considers the objective laws of social development and rejects subjectivism and voluntarism. An important role in this belongs to the development and strengthening of comprehensive ties of the young states headed by revolutionary-democratic parties with the socialist alliance and with the world communist movement.

³Ibid., Vol 6, p 83-84.

In recent years, the inter-party ties of the CPSU with the revolutionary parties of the liberated countries have been expanded. The agreements on this type of cooperation provide for an expansion of inter-party ties at all levels, a mutual exchange of experience in party work, cooperation in the work of training party cadres, joint scientific research on timely problems of current social development, and a strengthening of the contacts between the press organs and social organizations.

The generalization of the varying, multifaceted experience of real socialism on the one hand, and the consideration of new historical conditions for the struggle of the young states and an analysis of the tendencies for their socio-economic development on the other—this is the basis on which the theory of socialist orientation is built, the non-capitalist means of development, whose ideas were expressed by the founders of scientific socialism. The transition to this road by a large group of Afro-Asian countries facilitates the further intensification of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist orientation, the clarification and specification of a number of its positions and conclusions. The international, creative character of the theory of socialist orientation, counter to the affirmations of bourgeois political scientists, has nothing in common with the absolutization and dogmatization of the experience of socialist construction in one country. Nor does it have anything in common with political pragmatism, nor with the rejection of the basic positions of Marxist-Leninist teachings. On the contrary, the socialist orientation of a number of the liberated countries is a new affirmation of the creative character of scientific socialism.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

HISTORY OF ESTABLISHMENT OF NFZ IN SOUTH PACIFIC

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 15-16

[Article by V. Nikolayev, candidate in historical sciences: "Toward a Nuclear Free Zone in the South Pacific"]

[Text] In various forms, peoples are waging a struggle against the threat of the emergence of a new world war. They realize that such a war, if it were to be unleashed, would be a nuclear, space-missile war capable of destroying all forms of life on Earth. It is for this reason that the primary efforts of the proponents of peace are directed toward the liquidation first of all of nuclear weapons. This goal is pursued also by the initiatives which provide for designating various regions of our planet as zones which would be free of such weapons. The 27th CPSU Congress gave much attention to the questions of ridding mankind of nuclear weapons. Its documents note specifically that the Soviet Union will continue to speak out in favor of creating zones free of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction.

The position of the USSR on the question of nuclear-free zones was clearly expressed in the response of comrade M. S. Gorbachev to the appeal by the Japanese Council of Organizations for Atomic Bomb Victims. "Our country understands the desire of many states to create nuclear-free zones in various regions of the globe," he stressed. We favor the creation of such zones, for example, in Northern Europe, in the Balkans, in Southeast Asia, and in Africa. The efforts of the states in the South Pacific on creating a nuclear-free zone in this region deserve praise."

For the peoples inhabiting the countries of the Pacific Ocean basin (around half of all humanity lives here), the struggle with the nuclear danger is particularly current for many reasons. France is conducting nuclear tests on Mururoa atoll (French Polynesia). The USA has nuclear weapons in the Pacific located in dangerous proximity to the borders of the USSR, including in South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and the islands of Micronesia. There are American space missile complex facilities located in Australia and other Pacific Ocean countries. These create a direct threat for the peoples of these countries for being in the zone of a return strike in case a nuclear conflict arises.

The population of the countries in the Pacific Ocean basin has already suffered from atomic bombings in the period of World War II and from the testing of nuclear weapons in peacetime. They are very well aware of all the ruinous consequences for life inflicted by this type of mass destruction weapon. Even a "local" nuclear war in the Pacific would lead to ruinous consequences of a global scale and would cause the contamination of the waters of the World Ocean and the spread of radioactive precipitation throughout the entire planet.

The struggle for declaring the nuclear-free status of individual cities, oblasts, countries and entire regions is actively being waged in Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and other Pacific Ocean countries. The latest evidence of this is the decision of the 16th Session of the Forum of South Pacific Countries to conclude an agreement on declaring this region to be a zone free of nuclear weapons. This decision was adopted in early August of 1985 at the administrative center of the Cook Islands in the city of Avarua.

According to the "Avarua Agreement," its participants took on responsibilities in accordance with which the placement, production and testing of nuclear weapons would be prohibited on their territory in perpetuity. The decision was also made to prohibit the dumping of radioactive waste into the ocean waters. All 13 Forum members: Australia, New Zealand, Papua--New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, Tonga, Western Samoa, Kiribati, Nauru, Tuvalu, the Cook Islands, and Niue--unanimously supported the agreement. Eight of the organization's member states immediately signed the agreement, including Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, and Western Samoa. Papua--New Guinea signed it somewhat later.

The region covered by the agreement encompasses an extensive portion of the Pacific Ocean. Its southern boundary will pass along the 60th degree south latitude, adjoining the zone of effectiveness of the "Antarctic Agreement," which went into effect in June of 1961. According to this agreement, the ice continent and its adjoining waters to the 60th degree south latitude were declared to be a demilitarized zone, where any measures of a military character were prohibited. This includes the creation of military bases and fortifications, the performance of military maneuvers, as well as the testing of any types of weapons. On the east this boundary will adjoin the effective zone of the "Tlatelolco Agreement," concluded in 1967 and prohibiting the placement of nuclear weapons in Latin America. The northern boundary will be the equator, and in the west--the boundary passing between the territorial waters of Australia and Indonesia.

In connection with the decision of the South Pacific countries to create a nuclear-free zone in the region encompassing a significant portion of the Pacific Ocean aquatorium, it would be fitting to recall also the agreements which are already in effect regarding the prohibition of placement of nuclear weapons and other types of mass destruction weapons at the bottom of oceans and seas and in their depths, as well as the Agreement on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, in which Australia and New Zealand are also participants.

Thus, the "Avarua Agreement" is written into the system of international documents limiting the spread of nuclear weapons. The most important task now is for all the countries participating in the agreement to receive firm guarantees from the nuclear powers to strictly respect the nuclear-free status of this region.

This is not the first time that the question of creating a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific has been placed as the order of the day before the international community. It had already been discussed 10 years ago. At that time, the proposal to declare the indicated region as a nuclear-free zone was approved by the 6th Session of the Forum of South Pacific Countries, which was held in July of 1975 in the capital of Tonga, Nukualofe. It was subsequently introduced for discussion at the 30th session of the U.N. General Assembly at the proposal of New Zealand and Fiji. In Resolution No 3477 (XXX), the General Assembly approved the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific and proposed that the interested countries hold consultations on this question regarding the means and methods for achieving this goal.

After the approval of this resolution, the United States took urgent measures to bury forever the idea of declaring the South Pacific as a nuclear-free zone. Washington put political pressure on its US allies in the ANZUS military-political block—Australia and New Zealand—to force them to reject further development of practical measures for creation of a nuclear-free zone.

The US authorities were seriously concerned with the fate of the American military bases in this region. Moreover, the Laborist government of Australia headed by E. Whitlam demanded to establish its own control over the operation of the top secret American bases in Australia. At the end of 1975, the Whitlam government was forced to go into retirement. American intelligence services were a party to this "state turnover Australian-style", as the world press pointed out. The new Australian government was headed by the leader of the conservative parties, Frazier, who spoke out in favor of strengthening military cooperation with the USA.

A conservative government also came to power in New Zealand, and rejected participation in the development and implementation of the ideas of a nuclear-free zone.

The conservative governments of Australia and New Zealand adopted the decision to renew visits to their ports by US ships and submarines carrying nuclear weapons. This same decision was also forced upon the countries of Oceania. At the 7th Session of the Forum of South Pacific Countries held in March of 1976 in the city of Rotorua, New Zealand, the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in this region as presented at the previous session was in fact rejected. In order to secure this position, Washington promised to give economic aid to Australia and New Zealand. In "payment" for this, the latter had to put pressure on the governments of the region's island states and to force them to allow entry of American ships with nuclear weapons into their ports.

For almost 10 years, the question of creating a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific was not examined again. However, all this time the proponents of

peace in the countries of the region continued to fight against French nuclear testing, against the entry of American ships and submarines with nuclear weapons on board into local ports, and against the retention of US military bases here.

A new stage in the struggle for creation of a nuclear-free zone began in 1984, with the ascent of the Laborist Party to power in New Zealand. Its leader, D. Longy, who headed the government, stated: "New Zealanders in their overwhelming majority do not want to be protected by nuclear weapons and do not want to be drawn into the strategy of a first nuclear strike." New Zealand closed its ports and airports to American ships and airplanes carrying nuclear weapons.

In Australia the Laborists returned to power in March of 1983. On the questions of military cooperation with the USA, and consequently also on the problem of prohibiting the presence of nuclear weapons in the South Pacific, their program was not distinguished by such radicalism as the program of the New Zealand Laborists. The government of R. Hawke demonstrates its faithfulness to the ally responsibilities to the USA within the framework of AZNIUS. That is, it opens Australian territory for American military-space bases and allows the presence of US ships and planes carrying nuclear weapons in its country.

The different approach by Australia and New Zealand to the presence of foreign nuclear weapons in the South Pacific region was reflected also in the conception of creating a nuclear-free zone there. Because of the position taken by Australia, the demand of a prohibition on allowing ships and planes carrying nuclear weapons in the ports and airports of countries in the region was not included in the text of the "Avarua Agreement", as New Zealand had proposed. Instead, it was determined that each country would decide this question at its own discretion.

In regard to the agreement signed in Avarua, Washington immediately voiced its sharp negative reaction because the agreement allegedly may "hinder US access to the Pacific Ocean". Making use of the fact that not all the states had signed the agreement, the American government began intensive treatment of these countries for the purpose of forcing them not to sign the document adopted in Avarua. The French government also announced that it had no intention of honoring this agreement and that it would continue nuclear testing on Mururoa atoll.

At the same time, broad circles of the community in this region firmly speak out in favor of ridding the population of the South Pacific countries of the danger which the placement and testing of nuclear weapons here entails.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

SOCIOECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS BASIS OF IRANIAN REVOLUTION ANALYZED

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[Article by A. Arabadzhyan, doctor of economic sciences: "The Iranian Revolution: Causes and Lessons. First Article"]

[Text] We may say without overexaggeration that the Iranian revolution of 1978-1979 evoked great interest throughout the entire world. With all its complexity and contradiction, it was basically an anti-imperialist revolution, although domestic and foreign reaction strives to alter this character. The Iranian revolution has also attracted the close attention of Soviet specialists in eastern affairs. The reflection of this circumstance, specifically were the articles published in the pages of our journal by such authors as S. Agayev, S. Aliyev, D. Kasatkin, and V. Ushakov. N. Simoniya dealt with individual aspects of this revolution in his works of a general character.

Time and the events taking place in Iran continue to expand the possibility of delving deeper and determining more precisely the content and essence of those processes which began to be formulated in post-revolutionary Iran under conditions of concentration of the total state power in the hands of the Shiite theologians.

In the article presented for the attention of the reader, the author attempts to give, along with a description of the prerequisites and causes for the revolution, also his interpretation of the consequences of the rise to power by the religious activists of Islam and presents his opinion on the concept of the "Islamic revolution" and his understanding of the concept of the category of the "Islamic regime. The latter, he believes, unlike the concept of the "Islamic revolution," is adequate to the economic, social, political and cultural orders which have been and are being established in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Obviously, a further study of the events taking place in Iran and of those which the future will bring to the life of this country may serve as the basis for clarifying the evaluations contained in this article, and even for changing them. Therefore, the author presents his interpretation of that which has happened in Iran with consideration of this circumstance.

* * *

The 60's and 70's in the life of Iranian society passed almost entirely under the aegis of the "white revolution",¹ which, according to the plan of the monarchy of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was to have brought the country into the mainstream of world capitalist development, lay the foundation for its transition to the midst of the developed capitalist states, and, thanks to its social content, relieve the regime of the threat of revolutionary flare-up which had arisen before it many times in the post-war period. Such a revolution would be capable of liquidating the monarchy which, in essence, had usurped the full range of legislative, executive and judicial power in the country.

The actual military-political alliance with imperialism (primarily American) and the foreign policy course which envisioned the effort to have a balanced relationship with the two world systems, were viewed by the monarchy as a reliable guarantee of the realization of the tasks of the "white revolution".

From the standpoint of ensuring the conditions necessary for the indefinite time of existence of the Pahlavi monarchy, the head of which acted as the "leader" of the nation and its "father" from one generation to the next, the events of 1978-1979 undoubtedly signified a total and harsh collapse of the "white revolution". This is true particularly if we consider the fact that even on the eve of these events the Shah persistently continued to assure the Iranian and the international community that things are going along as they should be and that the tasks which have been set are being resolved in full force.

However, viewed from the broad historical-methodological standpoint, the revolutionary outbreak of 1978-1979 was a historically large-scale testimony to the effectiveness of the development of capitalism in this country in the 60's-70's, a testimony to the sharp exacerbation in specifically capitalist contradictions (under conditions of forced industrialization and the national economic disproportions which it engendered). These, taken together with the effect of a number of other factors, led to the revolutionary outbreak.

The most important of these was the complex factor expressed in the transforming, repressive and destructive effect of the rapidly developing capitalism on the petty bourgeois and pre-capitalist orders or, in other words, structures. Its complex nature was expressed in the fact that it had an entire series of aspects—economic, social, moral-aesthetic, institutional, and psychological. An important circumstance was the fact that of the above-listed directions of effect, particularly in the 5-year period prior to the revolution, the least significant was not the repressive or destructive effect, but the changing or transformational.

With or without the consideration of the effect of this factor, the revolution of 1978-1979 certainly did not become an indicator for the limits and capacities of capitalist development in Iran. Even by the end of the revolution, Iranian capitalism had great potentials for development, in breadth as well as in depth. By the same token, the revolution was not fatally inevitable, even though it turned out to be the regular result of those specific conditions in which the process of development of capitalism occurred in this country, i.e., those

conditions of economic and political dictatorship which excluded bourgeois-democratic freedom in the basic as well as in the superstructural spheres of the life of Iranian society. Under these conditions, the political dictatorship of the monarchy took on extreme forms of terror, which was implemented by the gigantic (state and extra-state) apparatus of the secret police SAVAK, which resorted to large-scale moral and physical torture of thousands and thousands of prisoners. Behind the backs of those who created the revolution of 1978-1979 were more than one decade spent under the evil shadow of SAVAK and in inevitable fear of it. The behavior of the masses numbering in the millions during the repeated storming of the monarchy building gives us reason to say that this fear, somewhere in the depths of consciousness of each individual as well as of certain social groups gradually changed into the need for social retribution.

The hatred of the masses for this organization was intensified by the fact that it was perceived, and not without cause, to be nothing other than an underling of the CIA, and thereby American imperialism, as well as the Israeli intelligence Mossad—the personification of zionism.

Striving to ensure the application of the results of scientific-technical progress in world capitalist economic management in Iran, the monarchy involved foreign monopolies in the industrialization of the country. This allowed foreign capital to "get astride" the indicated process and to turn the Iranian economy into an object of neocolonial exploitation, although in the framework of the national strategy of development.²

Naturally, the contradictions in developing capitalism, just as the contradictions between it and the pre-capitalist orders which it transformed, were felt and perceived by society through their end results. The most general result of these was the process of intensifying the nonuniformity in the distribution of income between various classes and social groups even under conditions of absolute growth of this income, which as a rule outstripped the inflationary process. (Absolute impoverishment concerned primarily the Lumpen-proletariat and the paupers, whose ranks were filled primarily by the rural migrants). As a result, there was a relative impoverishment within the ranks of the workers, while the well-to-do classes got rich. Under conditions of the multiple and rapid growth in income from oil coming into the treasury and the simultaneous growth in state expenditures (businessmen were given the opportunity to receive large orders) greed and corruption began to flourish in the state apparatus, and the numbers of the new rich increased.

The brazen and uncereceremonious plunder of state funds by the well-to-do classes, the demonstrative luxury (in an emphatic western style) and the waste which took place before the very eyes of the workers became yet another factor in the huge explosive force which formulated in them the desire for social retribution. There arose in the social psychology of the urban masses a stable dislike for the monarchic state and the very person of the monarch. Even without this, the connection of the state with the urban "lower classes" had been broken. The entire state apparatus rested, as it turned out, not on the foundation of social trust by the popular masses in it. On the contrary, these masses, in relation to the organs of power, were a force capable of causing a destructive explosion. This is why neither armed force, nor administrative maneuvers, nor threats which the Shah's rule and its followers issued

generously in the second half of 1978, could prevent the overthrow of the monarchy. The army turned out to be a pidgeon with feet of clay.

Moreover, under these complex and peculiar conditions, the monarchy was opposed, as demonstrated by the revolution, by a formidable and well-organized opponent, whose mightiest weapon was his ability to influence the masses and to determine in large part their social behavior. This opponent was the religious activists of Islam. Their force was rather significantly enhanced by the actions of the monarchy itself, and by its policy of extermination and extirpation of the leftist forces who were capable not only of waging a political struggle against the monarchy, but also of being the bearer of a scientific ideology and enlisting the workers in it.

Having performed the secularization of lands belonging to Muslim institutions and having encountered the resistance of the religious activists, the monarchy underestimated the degree of their influence on the masses, particularly that portion of the masses which was at the lowest steps of the social ladder. The Shah's forces did not feel the need to compromise with the leadership of the religious activists who comprised their opposition. When in the fall of 1978 the authorities took the necessary steps in this direction, the religious leadership headed by the Ayatollah Khomeyni, who had become the accepted leader of the anti-Shah struggle in the eyes of the masses, refuted these efforts, since the possibility of overthrowing the monarchy already appeared as a reality.

The revolutionary spirit of the popular masses was formed not only under the influence of material conditions. A large role in strengthening this spirit belonged to the propaganda directed against the regime by a portion of the Shiite theologians opposing the monarchy. They made skillful use of the fact that a unique political vacuum had been formed under the conditions of the Shah's dictatorship, which had been created by the actions of the monarchy itself in relation to the leftist forces, as we have characterized above.

The publicistic activity of secular Islamists such as Ali Ahmad, Ali Shari'ati, Samad Behrangi, and Mehdi Bazargan began to play a definite role in formulating the social consciousness and anti-Western sentiments of the intelligentsia, and primarily the students. Having a European education and being familiar with current bourgeois philosophy, and at the same time espousing Islam, they--each in his own way--created an eclectic philosophical conception founded on Islam and directed in point against the "westernization" of the country, of which the monarchy appeared as the proponent. The criticism emanating from them met with broad acclaim from the masses, for whom Islam was the ideological basis.

The activity of the secular Islamists significantly augmented the propaganda of the Shiite theologians, giving it an acute "contemporaneity". The success of the anti-Shah propaganda is explained not only by the fact that the description of the regime which is supplied corresponded to the facts and the slogans which it presented answered the hopes of the popular masses, but also by the excellent organization in the mechanism of this propaganda. At the same time, the Muslim cult followers already had a well ordered organization which acted efficiently and in close association with the middle strata of

the city and the urban lower levels. Thus, the Shiite theologians, using the unique situation, were able to overthrow the monarchy at the hands of the masses.

And since the anti-Shah struggle was blessed in the name of Allah, and the religious propaganda appealed specifically to a definite social category of Islam—the shahadat (a martyr's death for a holy cause), the actions of the masses in the revolutionary movement took on remarkable stability and selflessness. The egalitarian slogans of early Islam taken up as weapons by the Muslim leaders turned out to be like sparks falling on a powder keg. The psychology of the urban middle strata and the urban lower levels entered such a phase of its development where the need for social retribution began to be perceived as something which stands above the very life of the individual.

One of the peculiarities of the revolution consisted of the fact that it gave no basis to believe that the behavior of the working class and the peasantry in the course of its implementation was a direct consequence of their economic position. The income of the factory-plant proletariat, up until the very eve of the revolution, grew at a rate which exceeded that of inflation. (This was a consequence of the policy implemented by the monarchic regime regarding this social category in the state as well as in the private sector). The income of the workers and the exploited rural residents, however, was lower than the income of the proletariat. Nevertheless, the villages on the whole were left apart from the revolution, while the most severe blow to the forces of the monarchy during the decisive socio-political battles was dealt by the most highly paid and highly benefited part of the working class--the oil workers. The other detachments of the factory-plant proletariat followed behind them.

It is true that the connection between the living conditions of the entrepreneur petty bourgeois and its social behavior in the revolution may be traced quite clearly. It had reason to feel that it had not gotten its fair share as compared with the other strata of the bourgeoisie during the period of sharp increase in oil profits. This determined its course of action during the struggle to overthrow the monarchy. It showed more clearly than before that in the politically charged Iranian society of the 60's-70's, the watershed of the social struggle took place within the bourgeois class.

The years which have passed since the time of the overthrow of the monarchy in Iran and the creation of the Islamic Republic of Iran already allow us to speak of the lessons of the revolution. However, first let us note several of its principally important characteristics.

The Iranian revolution of 1978-1979 has every reason to go down in history as having such political characteristics as anti-monarchic and anti-imperialist. The monarchy was overthrown, and the positions (political, economic, and ideological) were dealt severe blows, which also affected American positions in the Near East.

By its motivating forces, the revolution was a popular one, since the petty bourgeois (entrepreneurs and white collar workers), part of the intelligentsia and the students, the urban lower classes and the proletariat, and primarily the factory-plant proletariat which played a decisive role in the fall of the monarchy, all participated in it.

By the tasks which the revolution was to objectively resolve, it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Its goal was to achieve the recognition of bourgeois freedoms provided by the constitution and to ensure their socio-political and socio-economic aspects. (In the first case we are speaking of the guarantee of civil rights and freedoms. In the second--we are speaking about ensuring the legal rights of the petty and middle capital, its protection against the extra-economic tyranny of large entrepreneurs, as well as about the state's creating favorable conditions for its growth).

The hegemon of the revolution became the Shiite clergy.

Let us examine the last two characteristics: the bourgeois-democratic character of the revolution and the question of its hegemon.

The sum total of socio-economic reforms of the 60's-70's which opened the way for the development of capitalist relations and the course adopted by the monarchy toward forced industrialization placed various strata of the bourgeois (large, middle, petty) in a very unequal position. This was clearly manifested in the period of the sharp increase in oil income (1974 and subsequent years). Extensively aiding the development of large capital, monopolistic groups and associations and utilizing the strong state sector for formulating state-monopolistic formations, the monarchy did not create sufficiently favorable conditions for small or even moderate capital. Even though this approach to the indicated groups of capital began to clearly manifest only a few years prior to the revolution, this time proved to be enough for the problem of creating conditions for the development of "democratic capitalism" and "democratic capital" to arise, as well as the problem of the struggle for eliminating the obstacles set by large and monopolizing capital which was under the patronage of the monarchy. The resultant situation meant that a complex tangle of contradictions between various groups of capital arose in the sphere of economics.

The fact that the civil rights and freedoms provided by the Iranian constitution were grossly disrupted for decades became the most vital socio-political reason for the revolution. (The demand to maintain constitutional freedoms was the constant and basic slogan of all the forces opposing the monarchy). Having usurped the civil freedoms in the name of strengthening its dictatorship, covered with the facade of the monarchic two-party (and then also one-party) system, the Shah thereby denied developing capitalism of the necessary socio-political conditions for its functioning and growth, just as he declared any political organizations of the proletariat to be unlawful. (In the developed capitalist countries the activity of political organizations of the proletariat is the norm of bourgeois democracy, with all its limitation.) Consequently, not only were certain strata of the bourgeoisie vitally interested in restoring the constitutional freedoms in the Shah's Iran, but also the forces which represented in one way or another the interests of the proletarian masses. Herein lies all the scope and importance of this task, in this case for the leftist forces.

The intelligentsia reacted most acutely to the actual absence of constitutional freedoms. Its functional significance increased with the acceleration of the process of socio-economic reorganization of Iranian society in the course of capitalist industrialization.

Although the students by their social make-up seemed to be a copy of the social structure of Iranian society, its primary segments were comprised of members who came from the bourgeois strata, and not the proletarian or peasant. However, this in no way reduced the depth of its dissatisfaction and indignation at the fact that bourgeois freedoms were being usurped, while public opinion was being brought by the monarchy's repressive apparatus into line with the Procrustean bed of the monarchic understanding of freedom of thought and word. The main sphere of formulation of the leftist forces in the 60's-70's was specifically the students, who were in fact, for the duration of the entire period of rule of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi in a state of undeclared war with the monarchy, who took a great, bloody tribute from this segment of society.

The doctrine of monarchism, which was supposedly immanently inherent to the Iranian people, and forcibly pushed by the Shah himself as well as by his state ideologists, was rejected by the portion of the creative intelligentsia who had opposing sentiments, as was also the idea of the westernization of Iran on the basis of synthesis of western technology and Iranian spiritual values. Thus, under conditions when the bearers of Marxist thought were persecuted or banished from the country, the only force capable of expressing its protest against the Shah's dictatorship were the secular Islamists. However, their social-philosophical make-up, which represented an odd mixture of anti-westernism, anti-imperialism, anti-communism and Muslim utopianism, had a rather notable effect on the minds and attitudes of the masses.

Thus, a situation was created which testified to an entire collection of unresolved problems of a superstructural as well as of a basal nature, problems which are usually solved in the course of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. This circumstance determined the deep uniqueness of the revolution in Iran and at the same time—its extremely contradictory character, since this corporative estate is incapable of indicating the historical perspective for society. In its activity it is guided by principles which not only have long ago outlived their time, but were also utopian in many ways even in their own time. Under these conditions the fate of the revolution was decided not only by a certain outcome of the struggle between the monarchy and the anti-monarchic camp. The historically promising variant of victory turned out to be dependent on whether or not one of the political parties of the liberal bourgeoisie and the leftist forces or a coalition thereof would be able to ultimately take on the role of hegemon of the revolution, having edged out the clergy.

This complex character of the Iranian revolution which was so contradictory in relation to the logic of history was the result of the entire policy of the monarchy as described above, which had been implemented for decades: the persecution and extermination of the leftist forces, the suppression of bourgeois freedoms and the "taming" of the bourgeoisie, organized into artificial political parties created by the monarchy itself and deprived of their social face; confrontation with one part of the clergy of all degrees; persecution of its other part up to the use of repression, which created around this part of the clergy a halo of martyrdom and gave it the reputation of protector of the people.

The Ayatollah Khomeyni became the personification and embodiment of the will of the clergy. He was able to gain undisputed authority among the broad popular masses, and primarily the lower strata of the population. The clergy turned out to be quite skilled as an experienced propagandist and political organizer. The ability to impose its will on the masses obtained through these qualities allowed the clergy not only to direct the actions of the broad masses, but also to paralyze the actions of the bourgeoisie and to force it to submit to its authority, which in fact had been gained back in the fall of 1978.

The attainment of such power by the clergy over the social consciousness of the masses certainly did not signify its political monolith nature, and probably could also not be a consequence of it. This circumstance may be viewed with sufficient substantiation as one more feature characterizing the uniqueness of the Iranian revolution. Here the Shiite theologians diverged not on the question which had secondary significance. The topic concerned the problem of the place and role of the Shiite theologians in the socio-political structure of Iranian society after the overthrow of the monarchy. One part of them proceeded from the fact that the clergy must take state power in all its fullness into its own hands, establishing the rule of Muslim theologian-jurists ("velayte fakikh"). Such views were held primarily by Imam Khomeyni, who even before the revolution theoretically developed and justified the indicated principle. Another portion of the theologians (its representatives were the Ayatollahs Shari'atmadari and Golpayegani) believed that in post-revolutionary Iran they must rule the state. Having handed over this matter to secular persons—politicians and administrators, the theologians should limit themselves to ideologically overseeing the activity of the statesmen and the life of society as a whole. The struggle over this question took on a rather acute character already in the first months of the eventful year 1979. The proclamation of the Islamic republic became an important prerequisite to the victory by the proponents of the principle of "velayte fakikh", which was realized once again with the absence of a monolith unity in this class-corporative association and in the course of discussions at the Meeting of Experts on examining the final draft of the IRI constitution (it was adopted as a result of the referendum held on 2-3 December 1979).

The opposition of the popular masses to the monarchy began as a struggle for obtaining civil and political freedoms and changing the economic conditions of everyday life. The clergy were able to turn this into a struggle for the overthrow of the monarch and a certain stage (which began with the ascent to power of the last Shah's government—the government of Sh. Bakhtiar) to make it an end in itself for the broad masses. At the same time, it gave the struggle a great inertial force. This was manifested specifically in the contempt of the masses for the readiness of Sh. Bakhtiar to satisfy all the requirements presented to the Shah.

Having come to power, Sh. Bakhtiar proclaimed freedom of the press and freedom of party activity, passed through the medjlis and the senate an outline of a law on the partial disbanding of SAVAK—that portion of it which engaged in surveillance, and freed political prisoners from the jails. His program provided for limiting the activity of the army to its basic function of protecting the independence of Iran and its borders, gradually abolishing

the military position, sharply curtailing the purchase of weapons, withdrawing from SENTO, rejecting the role of policeman in the Persian Gulf, and rejecting the sale of oil to Israel. In his speeches, Sh. Bakhtiar was exceptionally polite and kindly disposed to Islamic circles. Moreover, he said that the management of lands belonging to the mechts and other religious institutions would be handed over to the clergy.

While the masses ignored Sh. Bakhtiar and his program, the liberal bourgeoisie was not brave enough to disobey the hegemon and even felt the need to prove their absolute loyalty to the clergy, excluding Sh. Bakhtiar from the ranks of the National Front for "renegade actions". The dislike of all that was being done by Sh. Bakhtiar which was forced on the liberal bourgeoisie became the first major achievement of the hegemon in its achieving its innermost goal--establishing religious, Islamic, Shiite rule by means of overthrowing the Shah's (or any other secular) rule.

The significance of this victory of the Shiite theologians was determined by the fact that the entire epopee with Sh. Bakhtiar was a desperate attempt of the ruling heads, in the personage of the court and the big bourgeoisie, to go from a dictatorship to a bourgeois constitutional democracy for the sake of saving the institution of the monarchy and the ruling house. As time showed, such a turn of events in fact turned out to be the culminating point in the struggle of the masses against the monarchy. Under the greatest pressure from below, it was forced to make maximum concessions (only the abdication of the throne and self-liquidation of the monarchy remained). However, the person who had the authority for the realization of these concessions, Sh. Bakhtiar, in fact seemed to detach these concessions from the monarchy, implemented them, and subsequently spoke of planned changes already in his own name. At the same time, he did not exclude the establishment of the republic order if the will of the masses so indicated.

Had the liberal bourgeoisie and the leftist forces made use of Bakhtiar's proposals and had they established a bourgeois-democratic order (let us say, in the form of a republic), the clergy would have been unseated and would not have become the hegemon of the revolution. At the same time, its fondest dream--the liquidation of secular rule and the establishment of theocratic rule--would have remained unrealized. This is the cause for the decisive, categorical dislike by Khomeyni of the Sh. Bakhtiar government and its democratic program. Yet, as we have noted, the liberal bourgeoisie was afraid to disobey Khomeyni, who was backed by the many millions of urban masses, in an ecstatic state. The leftist forces, represented by the fedays and mod-zhaheds whose political tone differed little from the state of the masses, overlooked this possibility.³

Even if we take the point of departure to be 16 January, the day when the Shah left the country, instead of 4 January 1979, when the revolution reached its culmination, i.e., the day when the government of Sh. Bakhtiar came to power and its declared measures became known to the entire country--nevertheless we have reason to express such an opinion. The revolution passed its culmination not on 12 February 1979 (the day when the victory of the armed uprising of 10-11 February became clear and M. Bazargan entered the premier's residence). From the standpoint of the bourgeois-democratic tasks facing it, it passed through its culmination earlier, when the government of Sh. Bakhtiar

was rejected, along with its proposed cooperation between all the forces striving toward the restoration of the constitutional freedoms and the democratic development of society.

From this time, the process of formation of the "Islamic regime", which the Shiite theologians named the "Islamic revolution" began in the depths of the still seething revolution.⁴

FOOTNOTES

1. This name was given by the monarchy of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi to the totality of economic and social reforms, initially in the form of six points presented at the referendum on 26 January 1963, which received all-people's approval. Subsequently, new points were added to the initial ones. In 1977, i.e., on the eve of the revolution, their number reached 19. The most important among the reforms was the agrarian reform. In the sphere of industry, the monarchy gave particular significance to the point which provided for profit-sharing by workers at factory-plant enterprises, and to the point which mandated the selling of stock in these enterprises to the workers (in the private sector—49 percent, and in the state sector—99 percent). As the Shah believed (or as he tried to imply to the public), the agrarian reform led to the elimination of exploitation of one man by another in the village, while the second and third of the above-mentioned points abolished this exploitation in the city. Some time after its inception, the "white revolution" was called by the monarchy also the "revolution of the Shah and the people".
2. The strategy of economic development, in the process of whose realization the revolution of 1978-1979 occurred, was formulated in the 60's, having travelled the difficult path of overcoming neocolonialist recommendations. On the whole, following this strategy made it possible to break the colonial structure of the country's economy. The situation which arose in Iran after the sharp increase in oil income (1974) and which played a huge role in creating the economic reasons for the revolution was primarily the consequence of voluntarism chosen by the monarchy during this period and leading to a sharp increase in the already present economic disproportions as well as to the appearance of new ones.

The consideration of this circumstance gives sufficient basis for not discounting this strategy as such, i.e., taken without the sudden increase in the tasks for plan development by almost double as implemented by the monarchy. This increase was a gross tactical error on the part of the monarchy in realizing its selected strategy of development. Only 2 years after the plan went into effect (March 1973), in May of 1975 the allocations for it were increased from \$32.5 billion to \$69.5 billion. This led to a sharp increase in the work volume and caused such a demand for goods which could not realistically be met in the short term with the aid of domestic production or by means of import.

3. This attitude toward Sh. Bakhtiar and his program on the part of the forces acting "from below" was accompanied by the fact that he was under constant pressure "from above". The generals constantly kept him in their sights, safeguarding the intactness of the institution of the monarchy. This circumstance removes the question which is logical in principle as to why Sh. Bakhtiar did not opt for overthrow of the monarchy.
4. Were they aware of the fact that, having given the future "Islamic regime" such a definition, they, the clergy, thereby themselves began to aspire to the fact that their endeavors had led to something which would result in a break of the old order of things in the most basic and radical sense? In other words, did they know that the political revolution which had occurred (overthrow of the monarchy as the largest existing political superstructure was undoubtedly such)--merely the moment of social revolution--is a means for radically changing the entire socio-economic order? This question is all the more appropriate since, as they believed, the future Iran would be neither capitalist nor socialist, but "Islamic".

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ISLAND STATE OF KIRIBATI DESCRIBED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 42-43

[Article by B. Rubtsov: "Kiribati"]

[Text] This republic may rightfully be called "the most oceanic state" in Oceania—the largest collection of islands in the world, scattered over the huge expanse of the planet's largest ocean. The 33 atolls which comprise Kiribati extend from west to east for almost 4,000 kilometers, and from north to south—for over 2,000. Yet their total area comprises only 823 square kilometers,¹ while their population numbers 61,000 people. As most of the other countries in the South Pacific region, Kiribati is among the smallest states in the world.

The Republic of Kiribati is located on an archipelago formed by three groups of coral islands: Gilbert, Line and Phoenix. Its name comes from the toponym adopted for the most populated group of islands by the Russian scientist and traveller, the honored academician I. F. Kruzenshtern in the 20's of the last century. Kiribati is the closest variant of the word "Gilbert" in the pronunciation of the local micronesian dialect. (T. Gilbert was one of the English researchers studying the archipelago).

The largest in population is Tarawa atoll (18,000 residents). The capital, Bairiki, is located here. The largest in size is Kiritimati atoll (364 square kilometers). Its former name was Christmas Island (Kirimati--the Micronesian variant of pronunciation for the English word "Christmas").

The state is still very young. Its independence was declared on 12 July 1979. Prior to 1975 it had been the British colony of Gilbert and Ellis Island, and from 1975 through 1979, after the residents of the Ellis Islands--Polynesians--expressed the desire to create their own political formation (the state of Tuvalu), it was called Gilbert Island.

¹The area of the populated islands is 719 square kilometers.

The European discovery of the atolls which make up Kiribati lasted almost three centuries--from the 16th through the 19th centuries. The Russian travellers F. F. Bellinsgauzen, I. F. Kruzenshtern and others made notable contributions to their study.

The native population of the archipelago has withstood many trials and hardships. Their acquaintance with the "civilized world" was accompanied by the spread of numerous diseases against which the islanders had no immunity. In the second half of the 19th Century, white traders by trickery or simply by force took 9,000 residents of Gilbert Islands for work on the plantations in Fiji, Queensland (Australia), the Hawaiian Islands, and Central America. Almost all of them perished, unable to endure the harsh exploitation, mockery and beatings by the overseers.

In 1892 England established a protectorate, and in 1916 it annexed a large portion of the islands in the archipelago, including Ellis Island. Thus, the colony of Gilbert and Ellis Island was formed, and over a number of years other atolls were administratively joined to it, including Ocean Island (currently Ranaba) and Christmas Island.

During the Second World War, little changed in the daily life of the islanders. Efforts of white colonists to create large coco palm plantations met with no success. Mineral reserves--large phosphorite deposits--were present only on Ocean Island. It soon attracted the greedy glances of the colonizers. Intensive mining operations were begun already at the beginning of our century. By 1909, 2 million tons of phosphorites had been exported. However, this naturally was not reflected in the well-being of the local population. The lease payment to native residents comprised a laughable sum--50 pounds sterling a year.

Difficult travails befell the islanders in the years of World War II. Several days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese bombed Tarawa, and then captured Gilbert and Ocean Islands. The airborne assault operation conducted by the allied forces in the liberation of Tarawa was one of the most famous in the course of combat operations in the Pacific. The Japanese occupation forces took part of the residents and mine workers from Ocean Island to the islands of Nauru and Kusaye, and totally annihilated the rest. Only one man was miraculously saved, and after the war he spoke out as a witness at the trial of the Japanese war criminals.

In the course of the two post-war decades, the economic life of the colony was, as before, in a state of stagnation. It is true that the Anglo-Australian-New Zealand Company British Phosphate Commission began to deduct a larger part of its profits into the colony's budget. This made it possible to somewhat improve the system of education and public health. The overwhelming majority of the population was engaged in the natural sector. The primary source of monetary income for the residents was copra (dried coconut pulp), which was produced in insignificant quantities.

In 1956-1958 the British, and in 1962 the Americans conducted testing of thermonuclear weapons on Christmas Island. Only under pressure from the community of Australia and New Zealand did the Yankees leave the atoll.

By the time the people of Kiribati achieved sovereignty, the phosphorites of Banaba were fully exhausted. The young republic lost its chief wealth, which placed it in an extremely difficult position. As a result of the cessation of mining operations, the per capita GNP fell to almost half its previous amount, from \$750 to \$350, while the amount of export fell to one-eighth its previous amount--from 24 to 3 million dollars.²

The government, headed by beretitenti (president) Ieremia Tabai, who retains this post even now, was faced with the serious problem of raising the national economy, which had been left in total dependence on the imperialist powers.

The natural conditions on Kiribati cannot be called favorable. The soil on the islands is not fertile, and many of them have an acute shortage of water (sometimes there is no rain for several years). Overpopulation on some of the islands, including Tarawa, has surpassed all allowable limits. On the latter is about the same as in Hong Kong. The isolation and dispersity of the islands makes it difficult to establish communications between them.

The basis for the young state's economy is griculture, which bears primarily a natural character. The main commodity crop is the coco palm. Copra, this classic product of the south seas, yields 75 percent of the export income. Its annual production fluctuates from 6,000 to 12,000 tons. The government has developed a program for expanding the state coco palm plantations on the island of Kiritimati, which will make it possible to increase copra export in the future.

Fish has always been the primary source of protein in the diet of the islanders. At present, steps are being taken in the republic to develop commercial fishing with the prospect of further expansion in the export of marine products. The first attempts at developing aquaculture have proven to be successful. Marine farms have been created for raising fish and growing algae. The government receives several million dollars (which is quite significant for such a small state) in payment from foreign vessels conducting fishing operations within the 200-mile economic zone of Kiribati, which reaches 3.6 million square kilometers.

Great hopes are being placed on the development of tourism on Kiritimati--the world's largest coral island, which is an important ornithological preserve. The construction of a hotel complex is being planned there.

An increase in the influx of foreign currency is possible also as a result of the expansion in sale of postage stamps. The income from these sales already exceed \$500,000.

Also important to the economy of Kiribati are the money orders sent by its citizens working abroad--800 seamen who sail on foreign vessels. and 500 workers³

²Here and henceforth--US dollars.

³Together with their family members, there are 2,000 Kiribati citizens on Nauru.

engaged in phosphorite mining on Nauru. We might add that the seamen received their professional training not just anywhere, but in their own homeland. In 1967, a navigation school was opened here, which during the time of its existence has trained several hundred first-class specialists.

In the somewhat remote future, the country might receive part of the income of foreign companies conducting mining of resources off the ocean bottom in the economic zone of Kiribati. Rich dispersions of manganese concretions are concentrated in the area of the Line Islands.

The republic has achieved notable success in the social sphere. Elementary education, which as of 1983 has been totally free, is currently provided for practically all children aged from 6 to 11 years. A multi-branched network of professional education has also been developed. Electricians, motor mechanics, builders, trade workers, etc. are being trained. Teacher training has been established. Around 200 students are studying in the institutions of higher learning abroad—on Fiji, in New Zealand, Australia, and Great Britain. It is expected that by the year 1988 there will be 325 people in the country with a higher education.

An important segment in the economic policy of the government are the 3-year plans for development, which provide for the stimulation of priority sectors of the national economy. The state has bought up the coco palm plantations which previously belonged to the "sovereign of the south seas"—the Australian company Burns, Phillip and Company. Kiribati's participation in the joint economic endeavors of the countries of Oceania is of great importance—in the sphere of shipping, air transport, communications, fishing, etc. In striving to rid itself of the ruinous consequences of colonialism, the government of the young republic is taking measures for limiting the consumption of alcoholic beverages. On seven of the islands they are prohibited altogether.

Kiribati is conducting an active foreign policy and taking an active part in regional organizations. In August of 1985, Kiribati, together with 10 states and 2 territories was one of the first to sign the agreement to make the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone at the meeting of the South Pacific Forum. The decision of the forum was applauded by progressive forces throughout the world.

The Republic of Kiribati is surrounded on all sides by the colonial holdings of the imperialist states, primarily the USA. Sometimes they are alternated with the islands which are organically a part of the make-up of Kiribati.

Conducting a neocolonialist policy in regard to the republic, the USA is trying to use individual island territories of the young developing state for its own aggressive interests. Back in 1938, the Americans occupied the islands of Canton and Enderbury of the Phoenix group, which is today a component part of Kiribati. They were attracted by the advantageous geographic position of the small pieces of dry land lying half-way between Hawaii and New Caledonia.

The US government motivated its aspirations by the fact that in the mid-19th Century the American company Phoenix, which engaged in guano trade, conducted operations here. 100 years later, in the early 60's, satellite tracking stations were built here under the Mercury program. Starting in 1971, a

guidance station was placed into operation, which was part of the US anti-missile defense system.

Formally greeting Kiribati's granting of independence, and even concluding a friendship agreement with the newly created state in September of 1979, the USA up to 1983 did not confirm its departure from certain islands which were part of Kiribati, specifically Canton and Enderbury.

In 1979 the USA tried to buy Palmir Island from Kiribati for stockpiling nuclear weapons. The energetic intervention of the South Pacific Forum hindered the closure of this deal.

Striving to undermine the formation of economic ties by Kiribati with the socialist countries, Washington does not reject direct methods of pressure. Thus, in July of 1985, speaking in Suva—the capital of Fiji—US Secretary of State Schultz, speaking of measures by the Soviet Union directed at conclusion of a fishing agreement with Kiribati, without any basis called them "an example of Soviet penetration into Kiribati." Understanding that one cannot achieve serious results with the myth of the "Soviet threat" alone, Schultz decided to resort to more effective measures. Specifically, he promised to develop measures for giving aid to the fishermen of Kiribati "so that they would not have any stimuli for concluding agreements beneficial to Moscow."

However, the peoples of Oceania do not want to be subordinate to imperialist pressure. They do not intend to join in the realization of the military-strategic plots of the USA and other imperialist powers. The decision of the 16th session of the South Pacific Forum demonstrated with all clarity the growing role of the countries in this region in the struggle against the nuclear threat and against the imperialist dictate.

Already the first steps of the young Pacific Ocean state have shown that the people of Kiribati are full of resoluteness to go forward along the path begun on 12 July 1979 under the banner bearing the slogan: "Te mauri, te raoi, te tabomoe"—"Health, peace, happiness."

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

INTRACLASST CONFLICTS OF TAIWANESE BOURGEOISIE, WORKERS NOTED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 48-50, 61

[Article by I. Shin: "Taiwan: A Social-Class Evolution of Society"]

[Excerpts] The borderline from which noticable changes began in the structure of Taiwanese society should, in our opinion, be considered the beginning of the 1960's. At that time, the course was taken toward accelerated capitalistic development triggered by the economic reorientation of the Kuomintang regime.

In the late 1950's, the Taiwanese economy (and primarily its industrial sector) found itself in a state of crisis. Its immediate cause the evident limitation in the economic policy of the Kuomintang--the strategy of substituting import, which met with serious obstacles in the form of a narrow local market. The way out of this dead end was sought in the reorientation of industrial production for export.

The process of developing heavy industry began in the mid-1960's. The first enterprises appeared in the metallurgical, electronics, chemical and petrochemical industries, as well as general, transport, and electrotechnical machine building. At the beginning of the following decade, the development of the heavy and chemical industries was proclaimed to be the top priority economic task. It was primarily the capital-, material- and power-consumptive sectors of industry which developed in this period (ship building, steel casting and petrochemical industries, etc.). In recent years, the transition to technologically complex, highly scientific forms of production has been noted (robot technology, informatics, genetic engineering, etc.). The Kuomintang authorities have stepped up their activity directed at obtaining the latest foreign and developing their own current technology.

The rate of capitalist development in agriculture has significantly increased. In the late 1960's-early 1970's, the Kuomintang took a course toward forced capitalist modernization of the agrarian sector.

Production cooperation and mechanization were determined by the Kuomintang as the two basic directions implemented since the early 1980's by the "second agrarian reform".

Thus, the development of agriculture in Taiwan as well as that of industry exhibit a tendency toward the displacement of the lower capitalist orders by more developed forms of capitalist production, a tendency toward the evolution of the "farmer" type of agrarian capitalism into the private cooperative type.

As a result of the increase in the overall population of the island (from 10.8 million persons in 1960 to 18.3 million in 1982) and the broader involvement of women and children into the process of social production, the absolute as well as the relative scope of employment has increased. The number of people employed increased from 3.3 million persons to 6.7 million between the years of 1960-1981, and their relative share in the structure of the overall population increased from 31.1 to 37.2 percent.

The group of hired workers has increased significantly within the employed (from 36.9 percent in 1956 to 64.6 percent in 1981). This is evidence of the broad proletarianization of the Taiwanese population. Since the early 1960's, the absolute numbers of the hired work force increased every 10 years on an average of over a million persons a year.

As a result of the continued growth in the numbers of the working class during the course of industrialization, this class has become the largest social category of current Taiwanese society. While in 1964 the workers comprised 23.5 percent of the entire employed population, or 841,000 persons, by 1981 this figure had increased to 41 percent, or 2,741,000. There were also shifts in the sectorial structure. The number and relative share of workers engaged in industry (mining and processing), in the sphere of communications, in communal services, in transport and in construction all increased. By 1981 the industrial proletariat numbered 2,494,000, and its relative share within the entire working class comprised 91 percent.

In summarizing our investigation of the objective conditions for the existence of the Taiwanese working class, we may conclude that some of them significantly hinder the development of the workers' class consciousness. Thus, on one hand, the group of highly trained workers at large state and private enterprises, which is characterized by a high degree of productive and territorial concentration, finds itself in the most privileged position in relation to the other groups by the duration of its work day, the amount of its wages, etc. This, undoubtedly, hinders the process of recognition of their class appurtenance and common class interests with the other groups of the proletariat. On the other hand, the workers of small enterprises located primarily in rural areas find themselves in the most difficult conditions. The development of a class consciousness by this group of workers is hindered by their territorial-production dispersion, the temporary character of their proletarian status, and their peasant environment. Because of the indicated circumstances, the Taiwanese working class on the whole is characterized by a petty bourgeois world outlook and susceptibility to the paternalistic demagoguery of the ruling circles.

As for the trade unions, they are under full control of the government and the Kuomintang, and represent merely an instrument in the hands of the ruling regime. Altogether in Taiwan, according to the data for 1979, there are about 1600 trade union organizations, with membership of around a million people.

Despite all the difficulties of an objective and subjective character, the Taiwanese working class is becoming ever more aware of political life. Its activity especially increased during the period of economic crisis in the

years 1979-1983, which caused a deterioration in the material position of the workers. While in 1969 official Taiwanese statistics recorded 79 labor conflicts, in 1979 there were 245, and in the years 1980-1982 their number increased from 700 (around 6,000 participants) to 1300 (around 9,000 participants). At the same time, numerous local conflicts were not considered, and not cited in the statistical reports. The basic reasons for the strikes were dismissals in connection with curtailment of production and nonpayment of benefits.

The growth of the workers movement in the years of economic crisis forced the government to make a number of concessions. Specifically, a new labor standards law was adopted in 1982. Its sphere of effect was somewhat expanded (while previously the law applied only to workers in the mining and processing industry, now it applied also to workers in transport, communications and public services). According to the new law, the workers received the right to compensation if their employer went bankrupt, and to payment of pensions and fringe benefits. An outline for a code of labor laws was also developed, which will unify all currently existing legislative acts.

The accelerated development of Taiwanese capitalism facilitated the rapid formulation of a "new" part of the middle strata of society, consisting of the intelligentsia and the white collar workers. The numbers of the "new" middle strata increased from the mid-1950's to the early 1980's by over a million people. Their relative share within the employed population practically doubled. This means that while on the eve of the acceleration of capitalist development of Taiwanese society, on the whole approximately 1 in every 10 persons employed in social production was classified in the category of white collar workers (the intelligentsia is a specific part of the white collar workers), by the early 1980's this figure had increased to 1 in 5.

The rapid quantitative growth of the "new" middle strata took place simultaneously with the intensification in the social nonuniformity of its composition. There was a clearer tendency for the division of the intelligentsia and the white collar workers according to their attachment and allegiance to the different classes into the following groups: bourgeois, petty bourgeois, and proletarian intelligentsia.

The most well formulated is the group of the bourgeois intelligentsia, which includes representatives of the free professions (primarily most of the architects, doctors, lawyers), as well as managers of state and private companies. Their high income level, primarily bourgeois origin, lifestyle, and ideological attitudes--all these unite the upper strata of the intelligentsia with the bourgeoisie. The process of definition of the petty bourgeois and proletarian intelligentsia has not yet been completed. As yet it is still somewhat of a conglomerate, which occupies an intermediate position between the two main classes of Taiwanese society.

The break-up of the old socio-economic structure has inevitably led to a declassification of certain groups of the population. The process of declassification has encompassed primarily the rural regions, most of whose residents, deprived of reliable and permanent sources of existence in the 1960's, turned

toward the city. Soon the main mass of pauperized peasants was absorbed by the rapidly growing industry--in the cities as well as in rural areas. However, since the beginning of the 1970's, with greater integration of the island's economy into the system of capitalist world economic ties and as a result of this with an increase in capitalist contradictions, there has been a continuous expansion in the scope of unemployment. During the years 1973-1983 the army of unemployed increased from 32,000 people to 217,000. At the beginning of the 1980's, the unemployed comprised about 3 percent of the entire economically active population of Taiwan.

The accelerated development of Taiwanese capitalism also had an effect on the bourgeoisie. Its numbers increased significantly--from 87,000 in 1956 to 283,000 in 1981. Its relative share among the employed also increased. During this same period it rose from 3.2 to 4.2 percent, although the bourgeoisie still comprises an insignificant minority of the gainfully employed population.

The growth of the Taiwanese bourgeoisie occurred primarily due to that portion of it which is associated with industry. The strengthening of the industrial bourgeoisie was a consequence of the economic strategy of the Kuomintang directed at the development of the private sector. Another side effect of this policy was the weakening of the positions of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie which personified the state-capitalistic order. This was caused by the fact that the state sector ceased to play the leading role in the Taiwanese economy. Thus, we may isolate two fractions in the current Taiwanese bourgeoisie--the descending bureaucratic and the ascending private economic fractions, with the nucleus of the latter being the industrial bourgeoisie.

In connection with the growth in the influence of the monopolistic capital in the midst of the Taiwanese bourgeoisie, there is an intensification in the intra-class contradiction between the monopolistic upper level on the one hand, and the mass of small and medium-scale entrepreneurs unhappy with the dominance associated with the foreign monopolies of local large capital, on the other. The political expression of this contradiction is the struggle of the Kuomintang with the "independent" candidates movement arising in 1969 in connection with the upcoming parliamentary elections. Under the conditions of the ban on creation of political parties, this was the only possible form of organizing forces by the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois opposition. The opposition specifically by these two groups of the bourgeoisie is what defines the basic tendency of the political development of Taiwan at this stage of its capitalist evolution.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BOOK ON LINKS BETWEEN TERRORISM, NEOCOLONIALISM REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 p 62

[Review by V. Bruz, doctor of historical sciences, of book "Neokolonializm i mezhdunarodnyy terrorizm" [Neocolonialism and International Terrorism] by A. M. Baychorov, Minsk, izdatelstvo "Universitetskoye", 1985, 158 pages]

[Text] The rise in international tensions in recent years is largely the result of the neocolonialist policy of the imperialist states, and primarily the USA, who strive to suppress by any possible means the peoples' liberation struggle, to liquidate their conquests, and to retain the young states within their sphere of influence. Under these conditions, primary significance is taken on by the well-documented exposure of the real essence of international terrorism as well as current neocolonialism, as well as by the criticism of the corresponding bourgeois conceptions.

The work under review studies the deep-seated reasons for the intensification of the terrorist activity of the imperialist forces in the world arena and exposes the propagandist campaign of the struggle against "international terrorism" unleashed in the West at the initiative of its more reactionary circles. The author stresses the fact that "the primary historical reason determining the growth of terrorism in the world today is that capitalism as a social order has lost its historical justification. More and more people are not supporting it, and that is why the ruling circles of the western countries can no longer fully rely on the bourgeois-democratic institutions and procedures, but must resort more often to terrorist acts directed at eliminating the leaders of potentially dangerous political parties and movements and toward frightening society." (p 40).

The monograph critically analyzes the concept of "authoritarian and totalitarian regimes", which claim to theoretically justify the struggle with "international terrorism". J. Kirkpatrick, N. Glazer, S. Hook and other adherents of this concept have developed an ideologically motivated classification of the liberated countries in which the regimes friendly to the USA (and the West) are defined as authoritarian (but having a tendency toward democratic development), while the countries who are striving to follow the path of progressive transformations are classed as totalitarian. From this viewpoint, the national-liberation movement is directed at replacing the authoritarian regimes with totalitarian ones, and therefore should be viewed as "international terrorism".

Using interesting factual material obtained from foreign sources, the monograph exposes the means and methods used by military-political neocolonialism in the zone of the national-liberation movement.

The monograph notes that the experience of recent years demonstrates that the terrorist activity of the imperialist states and transnational corporations, which are proponents of Western policy in the developing world, is implemented along three basic directions: subversion and destabilization of political regimes and movements struggling for progressive, antimonopolistic transformation; support of pro-western repressive dictatorships and counterrevolutionary organizations; encouragement of military-terrorist actions by the regional subjects of neocolonialism ("subimperialistic centers") against the national-liberation movement and the young states occupying anti-imperialist positions. The work presents an analysis of the peculiarities of neocolonialist activity in these directions using the example of US policy in regard to the developing countries.

The reader will find in this book interesting material on the active role of Israel and the UAR in the struggle of imperialism against the national-liberation movement in Africa.

The reviewed monograph does not claim to illuminate all the questions associated with defining the place and role of international terrorism in the strategy of neocolonialism. At the same time, it presents an important contribution to the study of this problem.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BOOK ANALYZES CHOICE OF SOCIALIST, CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 pp 62-63

[Review by N. Gavrilov, doctor of economic sciences, and I. Rybalkina, candidate in historical sciences, of book "Vybor puti razvitiya i sovremennyy anti-kommunizm" [Choice of the Means of Development and Current Anticommunism] by M. M. Avsenev, Moscow, "Mysl", 1984, 176 pages]

[Text] The short but highly contentual monograph by M. M. Avsenev bears a scientific-practical character. It traces, for example, how the selection of the means influences the formulation of the overall strategy of development of a given country. The author notes that in working out plans for the economic and social development, the leadership must make a number of specific decisions whose character is directly associated with the socio-political choice. What position should be taken in relation to foreign capital? What policy should be implemented in regard to the national bourgeoisie? How and at whose expense should the programs of development be financed? These and many other questions may be answered differently, depending on whether the country is oriented toward the capitalist system of economic management or toward the future construction of socialism. The book argues in favor of the thesis that only the socialist orientation opens up a real possibility for overcoming underdevelopment.

The book shows that socialist orientation is not an automatic transition from pre-capitalist formations to socialism, by-passing the stage of developed capitalism. Rather, it is a process which is accompanied by an acute class struggle.

The monograph by M. M. Avseneva critically analyzes the basic positions of bourgeois political scientists and examines and rejects the "conclusions" regarding the "impossibility" of building socialism in the liberated states.

The author devotes much attention to a study of the comparative effectiveness of the two means of development. The imperialist ideologists, advertising the capitalist means of development, prefer not to expound too extensively on the economic situation of countries where the course toward socialism has been altered under the influence of external forces or internal reaction. And this is no accident. If the socialist means of development is really ineffective, as its opponents believe it to be, then the departure from it must

cause a sharp economic uplift. However, the author convincingly demonstrates that this not only did not occur, but could not occur in any of the countries which have departed from the course of socialist orientation.

At the present time, a number of states of socialist orientation are undergoing certain economic difficulties. However, the author stresses that "the economy in certain countries of socialist orientation often experiences difficulties not due to the socialist choice which has been made, but on the contrary, due to the fact that the principles of economic management stemming from this choice (distribution depending on quantity and quality of labor, basic principles of planning, etc.) are being disrupted" (p 132).

The book merely outlines the general directions of ideologically combatting the apologists of imperialism. Consequently, there are reserves for further in-depth studies in this sphere. A more detailed explanation should be given for the reasons for chronic lagging behind of the state sector in the economy of developing states. The acute question regarding the failures in the sphere of cooperative formation in agriculture also remains unanswered.

On the whole, however, M. M. Avsenev's monograph helps the reader become acquainted with the basic reasons and arguments of the proponents and the opponents of the socialist means of development.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BRITISH BOOK ON FORMATION, HISTORY OF PLO REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 86 p 63-64

[Review by N. Kasum-zade of book. "The Palestinian Liberation Organization: People, Power and Politics", by H. Cobban, Cambridge University Press, 1984. 305 pages]

[Text] Helen Cobban, author of the book "The Palestinian Liberation Organization: People, Power and Politics" worked from 1976 through 1981 in Beirut as a correspondent for the British weekly newspaper SUNDAY TIMES. Her journalistic activity allowed her to gather extensive factual material for illuminating the history of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the stages of formation and development of the Palestinian Resistance Movement (PRM).

The book examines the basic moments in the formation of the PRM, particularly the organization of the al-Fatah, the activities of other Palestinian organizations, and the policy of the PLO in inter-Arab and international relations in the period from the 60's to the beginning of the 80's. The book devotes much attention also to an analysis of the actions of the al-Fatah and the PLO in achieving mutual understanding between the leadership of the PRM and the Arab states, between the PRM and the political activists and public masses of these countries.

The author has succeeded in exposing the peculiarities of the PLO ties with the Arab world, as well as the specifics in the structure of this organization. Based on her personal observations and numerous contacts with the PLO leadership, Helen Cobban attempts to clarify the relationship between the objective historical process of development of this political movement and the subjective role of the people who formulate it.

Undoubtedly, we cannot equate the fate of the entire Palestinian people and the PLO with the activity of an individual fraction or personality. However the history of the al-Fatah, as the author demonstrates, is a component part of the history of the Palestinian people. It is interesting to note that foreign observers as well as Palestinians who do not belong to the al-Fatah often identify the al-Fatah with the PLO. This is explained primarily by the fact that the al-Fatah in the second half of the 60's played a leading role in the PLO.

Analyzing the activity of the PLO in inter-Arab and international relations, H. Cobban points out the foreign policy actions of the Soviet Union in solving the Palestinian problem, which have played an important role in the diplomatic achievements of the PLO and its recognition as the sole rightful representative of the Arab people of Palestine. Concerning the so-called "Reagan plan" for establishing peace in the Near East, the author notes that this plan radically excludes the possibility of creating an independent Palestinian state and is unacceptable to the PLO since it ignores its participation in the solution of the Palestinian problem.

It is annoying that the researcher did not delve deeply enough into certain aspects of the internal situation in the al-Fatah in the period preceding the split of the organization in May of 1983. Therefore, it is difficult to trace the sources of this most important event in the life of the PLO. Having painted a detailed picture of the interrelations in the al-Fatah in the 60's, Cobban simply projected this model to the next 15 years. Thus we get the impression that the directions and methods of the al-Fatah from 1965 through the present time remain unchanged. As a result, the work does not explain the reasons for the present serious differences of opinion in the PRM, which have resulted in the most severe crisis of its entire history. This crisis only plays into the hands of the opponents of a just solution to the Palestinian problem and subverts the long and hard-fought positions achieved by the PLO, which has presently become the primary target of imperialist intrigues.

In her study, H. Cobban comes to the conclusion that one of the main achievements of the PRM is the resurrection of the "Palestinian personality", which objectively stimulates the struggle of the Palestinian people for self determination. Having exposed the internal motivating forces of the PRM and having shown its vital and inviolable connection with the Palestinian people, the author stresses the intransitory significance of the PLO as the sole rightful representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The author concludes that the Palestinian problem cannot be solved and peace cannot be achieved in the Near East without the consideration of this objectively existing reality.

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IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL CONTENT OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS STRESSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 86 pp 10-13

[Article by M. Mnatsakanyan, doctor of philosophical sciences: "People's Anti-Imperialist Struggle: Peculiarities and Tendencies"]

[Excerpts] The current stage of development of the world revolutionary process is characterized by the growth of potential of the democratic and national-liberation forces and by the expansion of the social base of the anti-imperialist struggle. In the years since the collapse of the colonial system, great positive shifts have taken place in the socio-political, economic and spiritual spheres of development of the liberated states. Today we see a complex and dynamic picture of their movement along the path of strengthening the political independence which they have gained and of overcoming the difficult legacy of the colonial past. Many countries have achieved considerable success in the cause of socio-economic progress. It is natural that the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress and the new edition of the CPSU Program adopted by the 27th Party Congress present a principally new formulation of a number of positions which theoretically express the radical shifts in the international and domestic development of these countries and the peculiarity of the anti-imperialist struggle of their peoples.

* * *

In defining the character and basic content of the current epoch as an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, the CPSU Program isolates among its basic traits the fact that this is an "epoch of socialist and national-liberation revolutions." Other sections of the Program which deal with the strategic line of the CPSU aimed toward the future also note the national-liberation character of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples in the liberated countries. In discussing the tasks of creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory itself, the document stresses the need for generalizing new phenomena in the life and experience of the "world communist, workers, national-liberation and democratic movements." Among the primary goals and directions of the CPSU international policy is the "international solidarity with the communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, the international workers movement, and the peoples' national-liberation struggle." The excerpts presented here testify to the idea clearly expressed in the Program that the national-liberation struggle is a regularity of the entire current epoch, and not only its initial stages.

At the same time, the Program states that "a component part of the world revolutionary process is the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples and countries who have thrown off the colonial yoke and are striving to strengthen their independence and social progress." The anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the liberated states is also noted among the main motivating forces of social development in determining the character and basic content of our epoch. In the previous edition of the CPSU Program, the "national-liberation anti-imperialist revolutions" were isolated as a component part of the world revolutionary process. Based on the formulation of the motivating forces of the world revolutionary process in the new edition of the Program, may we say that the national moment in the anti-imperialist struggle has been totally exhausted? Certainly not. The CPSU program document formulates for the first time the most important peculiarity of the national-liberation struggle at the current stage of its development, its present specific-historical uniqueness. The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and the liquidation of colonial regimes have led to a radical change in the overall foreign, international, as well as domestic conditions of development of the national-liberation struggle. Its most important peculiarity now is that it has turned into a state organized force. In other words, the anti-imperialist struggle for the solution of national-liberation problems is developing within a state-political framework and form.

The depth and scope of this struggle, and its achievements, may be the result of a definite policy--foreign and domestic, whose development and realization are a function of the state itself. Outside the framework of the liberated countries, today there are practically no more national-liberation struggles, if we discount the struggle against apartheid and several of the remaining small colonial territories. Imperialism and its neocolonial policy and activity are opposed by the anti-imperialist struggle of the people, who use state power as a mighty weapon in this struggle. Here we must note that the objective interconnection between the revolutionary forces in the world revolutionary process also undergoes serious changes. Today the union between world socialism and the national-liberation struggle is realized at a higher level--a state level, and obviously with the expansion and strengthening of the traditional ties of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with the liberation forces, political parties and social organizations. This is why a component part of the world revolutionary process in the political plane today is specifically the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples who have thrown off the yoke of colonialism.

A more complex question is that of the national-liberation specifics of the anti-imperialist struggle by peoples of the liberated countries and of the character and directionality of the domestic social processes in these countries. Today the question also arises as to a more specific and clear definition of the historical place of the national-liberation revolutions themselves, primarily a definition of those historical boundaries beyond which the social and revolutionary process in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America loses its national-liberation specifics. It is methodologically correct to examine the character of these revolutions by clarifying the question regarding their specifics as a peculiar type of revolutionary process.

Generally speaking, what determines the character of any revolutions? First of all, those objective tasks which stand before them. Secondly, those objective contradictions which brought these revolutions to life. Thirdly, the character of revolutions is affected also by the arrangement of motivating forces and their mutual relation. As concerns the national-liberation revolutions, a significant factor determining their character is the national moment (or national aspect), its role and place in the social processes.

In the current epoch, the role of the international factor has increased sharply in all the revolutionary and liberation processes, in the sense of the rate of its development as well as in the sense of the known changes and shifts in their content. This is true in full measure also for the national-liberation movement. The objective tasks which stand before it are resolved not only on a national basis, but also in the international arena, with the international factor today taking on particularly important significance in the course of the successful struggle for resolving national-liberation problems.

* * *

At the same time, there is also a second important aspect of this problem. This is the domestic national processes in the young states, which have a serious effect on the anti-imperialist struggle. The dependent and exploited position of the liberated countries in the MKKh [world capitalist economy] and the neo-colonial pressure and expansion of the TNC [Transnational corporations] seriously hinder the processes of national consolidation and national rebirth in these countries. The intra-national economic and broad social tasks whose successful resolution rests largely also on the foreign-dependent, subordinate position of the young states, also express the needs for formulation and development of national communities. The traditional problem of dialectic unity of social evolution and national liberation takes on a new aspect. Socio-economic backwardness and dependence now act in the role of fetters, hindering the normal course of evolution, the seeming "liberation" of the newly formed national communities. It is natural that the deepening of domestic socio-economic processes and the struggle for socio-economic progress take on a huge national significance in the social life of the liberated countries.

The question of the domestic socio-economic development and progress stands out both as a national question of social development within the country, and as a problem of the independent, equal development in the world arena in general and in world-economic relations in particular. Always in all national and liberation movements there has been an internal, deep social content to these movements. And we cannot present the matter in such a way as is done by certain authors who say that the national aspect stands out as the form of the movement or process, and the social aspect—as its content. First of all, the national question is in itself a social question, which has its own political, economic and ideological aspects, encompasses significant social-class interests, and requires radical transformations in all spheres of social relations for its solution. Secondly, the struggle of an oppressed nation against the oppressor for its liberation and for the elimination of national inequality, dependence and exploitive attitudes comprises the social content of the national-liberation

movement. V. I. Lenin saw in this struggle the "true social content"¹ of such movements.

Thus, the national moment or the national aspect stands out both as the form of the national-liberation struggle and as an important component in its social essence. The dialectics of the relationship between the national and social essence consists of the fact that the success of the struggle for national liberation and for the solution of broad national problems is dependent on the "actual social content" of this struggle. The depth and scope of the social struggle and the all-national significance of the social problems themselves which are posed and resolved in the course of the national-liberation movement will determine its success. We may recall the attitude of K. Marx to the anticipated agrarian revolution in Ireland as a social content and condition for that country's national liberation.²

The concept of "social content" includes not only the objective social tasks and problems presented in the course of the national-liberation struggle, but also the participation of various social-class forces within it, the forms and methods by which they defend or express their particular social and class interests. The first, political stage of the struggle is often called the "all-national stage", not only because it unites the entire varied social-class and national-ethnic coalition speaking out for the national liberation of the people, but sometimes also several nations within the framework of colonies or semi-colonies. In the process of this struggle there is a crystallization of the particular social tasks, class and social goals are openly proclaimed, as well as the requirements of those participating in this struggle. This connection is noted also in the documents of numerous revolutionary-democratic parties. For example, the National Charter of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic states that in Algiers "the national movement from its very beginning takes on an unusually broad social scope," as a result of which the independence achieved by this movement "becomes a synonym for the complete reorganization of society."

The deep national-liberation struggle which is revolutionary in its means and methods, in essence becomes a stage of development of the social struggle. In the countries of socialist orientation, the revolutionary renovation of the economic and socio-political structures and the social-class and ideological shifts are called upon to prepare--in an accelerated and goal-oriented manner--the objective and subjective prerequisites for the subsequent transition to the building of socialism. In the plan of the national-liberation struggle this will be a stage of full and actual liberation from imperialist dependence and from the laws of functioning of the world capitalist economy, which reproduce relations of dependence and inequality. In many of the liberated countries which have chosen the capitalist model of development, the anti-imperialist struggle is viewed as an important component part and condition in the struggle for solving domestic social and national problems.

The interrelation of the social and the national is evidenced also by the strategy of neocolonialism, whose peculiarity in this aspect consists of weakening the anti-imperialist unity of the liberation movement by means of fanning national-ethnic and religious differences and exacerbating the national question in the multinational liberated countries. This old colonialist principle of

division by the national, religious and other indicators is used by imperialism also in the national-state opposition of individual liberated countries against each other.

The dialectics of development of the anti-imperialist struggle is such that the more complex the solution of problems of liquidating the dependent and exploited position of peoples in the system of MKKh becomes, the more clearly the social aspect of the movement and its social content come to the forefront. Today the struggle for socio-economic progress is called upon to solve the key problem of economic liberation and independence. This is the intensification of the social content of the national-liberation struggle.

It is specifically with socialism that the character of the post-October national-liberation movements and revolutions as democratic revolutions of a new type are inseparably linked. Today, thanks to the existence of a new social order--socialism, and the functioning of its internationalist foreign policy, these movements are no longer doomed as before to develop only in the channel of capitalism and in the direction of capitalism after the struggling peoples have achieved political independence. Already in the course of their development and intensification of their social content the main question is seen as selecting the means of social orientation of the liberated countries. A real possibility is created for selecting a progressive path of development leading through various transitional steps of revolutionary-democratic transformations to socialism, by-passing capitalism as a stage of social development.

Herein lies the principle innovation of the current national-liberation movements. Prior to the Great October, only one route was possible--the capitalistic. Therefore, all the national-liberation movements bore a bourgeois or bourgeois-democratic character. In the current epoch there are realistically two possible directions of development: toward socialism or toward capitalism. The first path requires a radical revolutionary break of the existing social relations and the creation of qualitatively new social structures, while the second path is an agonizing continuation of the line of social development, genetically dating back to the colonial system.

The character of these movements is also determined by the fact that they go through two sequential stages in their internal development. The first stage is the struggle for elimination of colonial regimes, political liberation, and the creation of independent states. The second stage is the struggle for economic and social liberation, the creation of a nationally independent economy, and the liquidation of various forms of dependence on the imperialist powers and the TNK. The second stage is the stage of anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the liberated countries, which is directly opposed by the policy and practice of neocolonialism. The new edition of the CPSU Program notes: "In implementing the policy of neocolonialism, imperialism strives to emasculate the sovereignty achieved by the young states, to retain and even to strengthen control over them...Using the economic and technological dependence and the unequal position of the liberated countries in the world capitalist economy, imperialism mercilessly exploits them, taking a multi-billion dollar tribute and exhausting the economy of these states."

Under certain variants of the means and forms of the social process in the liberated countries, national-democratic revolutions can grow out of the national-liberation movements. The countries of socialist orientation solve the problems of actual liberation from imperialist dependence on the paths of the revolutionary struggle with capitalism as a social order. The victory of the socialist production relations as a result of the sequential by-stage development of the present-day democratic revolutionary process into a socialist one will also solve the problem of the emergence of these countries from the economic system of capitalism. This is because the appurtenance to this system is determined not by trade-economic and other production ties, but by the internal class and socio-economic appearance of the countries, as well as by the social character of the production relations.

The character and tendency of development of social life of the liberated countries, as well as the intensification of their anti-imperialist struggle testify to the imminence of new crisis situations and serious jolts in the entire system of these countries. Imperialism, whose aggression and desire for social revenge are increasing, is creating a complex situation for the social progress of the liberated countries through its policy of protecting and strengthening relations of the neocolonial type. A long and stubborn struggle lies ahead, which requires the unification of forces with other anti-imperialist powers for its successful development.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America can count on the help and support of the Soviet Union in this struggle. In the Political Speech presented to the Party Congress, CPSU Central Committee Secretary General M. S. Gorbachev stressed that "the solidarity of the CPSU with the forces of national and social liberation remains unchanged, as does our line toward a close interaction with the countries of socialist orientation, with the revolutionary-democratic parties, and with the movement of non-alignment."

The new edition of the CPSU Program is oriented toward such a union of all the anti-imperialist forces--world socialism, the workers and the communist movements, the countries who have thrown off the colonial yoke, and the mass democratic movements.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin. "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Collected Works], Vol 27, p 441.
2. Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 16, p 581.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

SHIFT FROM ISLAMIC REVOLUTION TO ISLAMIC REGIME ANALYZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 86 pp 19-22, 38

[Article by A. Arabadzhyan, doctor of economic sciences: "The Iranian Revolution: Causes and Lessons. Second Article"]

[Text] The "Islamic regime" passed through several stages in the course of its formation and development. We are inclined to call the first stage, which began with the creation on 13 January 1979 of the Islamic Revolutionary Council (IRC) and ended with the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Iran on 1 April 1979, to be the period of embryonic development of the "Islamic regime." We will present the characteristics and content of this period below. For now, let us say a few words about the revolution itself.

Of course, historical science will in no way overlook the victorious armed uprising of 10-12 February as an event signifying the fall of the Shah's regime. By the same token, it will consider 1 April 1979 to be the date of birth of the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, in studying the genesis and nature of the phenomenon presented by the Shiite theologians of the country as the "Islamic revolution," and seeking out the true content and essence of this phenomenon, historians will probably ask the question: doesn't a regime of theocratic dictatorship stand behind this name, specifically manifested in the form of a dictatorship of Islamic religious leaders who have little in common with the Iranian revolution and who in essence oppose its ideals? The question of when and how this dictatorship was conceived will evidently also not remain without attention.

We date the beginning of the process of formation of the "Islamic regime" as being January of 1979, i.e., the time when the government of Sh. Bakhtiar came to power (3 January) and when the Ayatollay Khomeyni, who was still in emigration in France, created the Islamic Revolutionary Council (13 January). This council included people who were close to him and who were united by their leanings toward a politically active Islam, or in other words—those who adhered to the concept of a politicized Islam and Islamicized politics.¹ This brought into action the genetic code of the "Islamic regime," a regime which began the embryonic period of its development in a setting of continuing uplift of the revolution, which had already been doomed by the Shiite theologians. Only the separation of the religious activists from the role of hegemon of the revolution could hinder the preservation of the situation which had taken shape

in the first half of January. However, with the existing arrangement of political forces in the country this proved to be an impossible task.

As subsequent events showed, the IRC was called upon to become the most important instrument in the formation of the "Islamic regime" and in concentrating actual state power in the hands of the Shiite theologians headed by Khomeyni. On 5 February 1979, Khomeyni named M. Bazargan—a representative of the liberal bourgeois—to be the prime-minister of the as yet non-existent government (it was formed on 12 February). This government, which functioned under the control of the IRC, was called upon, according to Khomeyni's plan, to mask the process of formation of the "Islamic regime" in the country. However, the struggle for real power which ensued between the IRC and the government of M. Bazargan was a clear testimony to the fact that the interests of the religious leaders and the liberal bourgeoisie differed sharply. In any case, the liberal bourgeoisie did not set the goal of creating an "Islamic regime," toward which the Shiite theologians openly strived.

The period of embryonic development of the "Islamic regime" turned out to rather contentual and resultative for its proponents. After the victorious armed uprising in Teheran staged by the leftist forces, counter to the expectations of the clergy and threatening it with loss of its position as hegemon, the Shiite theologians were able to channel the energy and form of action of the uprising participants into the direction necessary for the theologians and to ensure them the role of the leading and directing force in the cause of forming the "Islamic regime." In doing so, the religious leaders once again manifested their ability to enforce their will upon the broad popular masses and to subordinate the revolutionary initiative and independent action to their own interests. They were able to place under their control the detachments of various political and religious groups which had arisen spontaneously even prior to the armed uprising—the pasadars (guards) and revolutionary committees. The revolutionary initiative and independent action of the masses engendered by their hatred for the Shah's despotism may with full justification be called the greatest gift given by the will of history to the Shiite theologians. Making use of it, the clergy blocked the actions of the pro-monarchic forces to such a degree and for such a time that it enabled them to begin the creation of their own state apparatus of repression.

A bold feature in the process of formation of the "Islamic regime" by the clergy also became its use of the spontaneously formed "Islamic tribunals," which ruled with the silent approval of the IRC, meting out quick judgement and punishment to leading civil and military leaders of the monarchic regime and all the while demonstratively ignoring the government of M. Bazargan.

It was at this period that Khomeyni created the institution of the so-called "representatives of imam," who were given the right of control over the ministries and departments, the military detachments, and organs of local authority, and who were personally answerable to Khomeyni. At this same time, the institution was strengthened by the proponents of the Friday prayer (imame dzhom-e), who controlled and directed ideological life locally and who were again personally answerable to Khomeyni.

In order to control the numerous committees arising even before the fall of the monarchy, the so-called Central Committee of the Islamic Revolution was instituted.

During the period of embryonic development of the regime, the groundwork was laid for the "Islamic Revolution Guard Corps" (KSIR) through the unification of the aforementioned pasadars and revolutionary committees. Already in the process of formation of this corps, a struggle began between the followers of Khomeyni and Bazargan for establishing control over it and for transforming this corps into the basic weapon for ensuring internal security and for suppressing the opposition (the leftist forces as well as the pro-monarchist). A unique consequence of this struggle was the fact that the official announcement of the creation of the KSIR was made only in the beginning of May 1979. The upper hand here was taken by the theologians, who thereby resolved one more vitally important question for the creation of the "Islamic regime."

At the same time, work was begun on creating the Party of the Islamic Republic (PIR), which was thought to be the main political force of the Shiite religious leaders. However, this process was somewhat drawn out, since Khomeyni expressed doubt as to the expediency of creating such a party. However, ultimately the desire of the Ayatollah Beheshti to create it gained the upper hand. Officially the party became known as such on 14 May 1979. The Shiite theologians also activated the fanatical religious masses, consisted of the urban lower classes, the petty bourgeois, the declassed elements ("chomakdars"-"dubinshiks") who were traditionally used by the religious leaders as pogrom-makers. The "Party of Allah (Hezbollah) was formed from the representatives of these strata.

The embryonic period of development of the "Islamic regime" became the period of developing the tactics of legalizing the principle of "veyayat-e faqih" which had been theoretically worked out by Khomeyni. This was the dictatorship of the Shiite theologians, and not the "common" (in other words, bourgeois-democratic) authority. This was a time for pondering by Khomeyni over the question of how to bring to life this principle under the specific conditions which arose in Iran as a result of the action of numerous political forces. This was a time when the liberal bourgeoisie was also ready to concentrate power and administration of the state in its own hands.

We must say that M. Bazargan and his ministers were not in the position of puppets. The slighting of this government by the Islamic forces was allowed consciously and made considerable sense for Khomeyni and his colleagues. This was a unique test of the forces before the future establishment of the total dictatorship. Moreover, the Islamic leaders needed the government of M. Bazargan, since they acted by the "method of trial and error," to be their smokescreen and, if need be--their scapegoat.

All the presented measures were implemented with the constant fanning of religious fanaticism, directed against the leftist forces as well as toward the bourgeois-liberal circles, and essentially against the government of M. Bazargan, which already at that time found itself in a position of dependence in relation to the IRC. All these actions, in our opinion, give sufficient reason to believe that Khomeyni and his followers came to the referendum which they organized (30-31 March 1979), when the question was being decided as to whether

Iran was to be a monarchy or an Islamic republic. By this time they had already been able and had time to take into their hands the levers which subsequently allowed them to formulate an integral state system--the "Islamic regime."

The path of the Shiite theologians toward creating this system was marked by a number of major landmarks, each of which in its own way testified to the fact that the religious activists were succeeding in achieving the goal which they had set, taking the upper hand over their political opponents, which were represented by the liberal bourgeoisie as well as by the leftist forces. This struggle, which was noted by bloody confrontations, acts of singular and mass terror, and widespread use of the services of pogrom-makers from the Hezbollah, testified to the fact that the tasks facing the revolution of 1978-1979 remain unresolved, and that the regime being formed is a step backward as compared with the Shah's regime (in the sense of solving the historically regular economic and social problems).

The very "proclamation" of the Islamic Republic of Iran (a major victory by the clerics) became such a landmark. It brought the process of forming the "Islamic regime" from the stage of embryonic development and seemed to juridically legalize it. Another landmark was the adoption of the IRI constitution based on the results of the referendum held on 2-3 December 1979.

The adoption of the constitution became the third major victory of the Shiite theologians on the road to winning power, and a very important landmark in securing this power in their hands.

The constitution, which embodied all the principles of the socio-economic and socio-political doctrine of Khomeyni, firmly rooted in the positions of Islam in the Shiite interpretation, opened for the theologians practically unlimited possibilities for manipulating the power which they had siezed, regardless of the sphere of life of Iranian society in which it was applied.

The political system of the IRI provided by the constitution made Shiitism, personified in the face of Khomeyni with entry of his name in the text of the constitution itself, the leading and guiding force of Iranian society, the nucleus of its political, state and social organizations. As a result, an odd political hybrid arose--a parliamentary republic under a leader who had been given unlimited power and who was free of all responsibility for his actions ("veyayt-e fagih"). In practical application, the leader has his own person representation in parliament (medzhlis) in the form of the Supervisory Council (six theologian-jurists appointed by the leader himself, and six jurists selected by the medzhlis). This Council is called upon to carry out the verdict regarding the correspondence or non-correspondence of proposed laws to the constitution after they have been ratified by the medzhlis. (Practice has shown that from the standpoint of this Council, a certain ratified bill may correspond to the Islamic constitution, but may be counter to the standards of Islam.)

The IRI constitution proclaimed the basis of the economic system to be the private ownership of means of production organized into an economic structure comprised of three sectors--state, cooperative and private.

In the opinion of its compilers, the constitution ensured the elimination of man's exploitation of man, although in deed it spoke only of "preventing" or "averting" the exploitation of another's labor ("dzhelo-ugiri az bahrekashi az kare digari"--point 4, article 43). In other words, the Shiite theologians presented the preservation of order existing before the revolution as a measure to prevent man's exploitation of man. Thus, the Shah's thesis on the resolution of this problem remained in force.

The constitution provided the theologians with full legal freedom of action, stipulating that all the articles of the basic law, as well as other laws and resolutions, must be based on the standards of Islam, whether the discussion concerned "individual articles or [the laws] as a whole" (Article 4). As practice has shown, this created the possibility of placing a prohibition on any legal initiative, which was used for rejecting extremely important drafted laws.

The social and cultural life of Iranian society is regulated by this same principle, as evidenced by the content of the Islamic "cultural revolution" which has taken place in the country.

The Shiite theologians who came to power as clerical representatives of the petty bourgeoisie and of all the "unfortunates" as a whole, and for whom being in power was a goal in itself, had to make a choice: to retain their title and to suffer defeat, trying to lead society along the anti-historical petty bourgeois path of economic existence or, masquerading as protectors of the "unfortunates," to become the servants of big capital.

The years which have elapsed since the time of formation of the IRI have shown that the Shiite theologians chose the second path. Evidence of this was primarily their avoidance of ratifying a number of drafted laws on vital economic questions which had been developed in the first years of the republic. Among these were bills on agrarian reform, on the state control of foreign trade, and on the limits of private ownership.

The bill on agrarian reform first appeared (1980) as a legislative act published by the Islamic Revolutionary Council, i.e., prior to the elections to the first IRI medzhlis, and therefore having legal force. It provided for the transfer, specifically, of lands held by the gentry to the landless and small land owning peasants, and was adopted for implementation. After the creation of the medzhlis, its effect was stopped. The newly developed drafts of laws on agrarian reform, despite their increasing conservatism, were twice rejected by the Supervisory Council as encroaching on private ownership. The drafts of laws on state control of foreign trade and on the limits of private ownership in various sectors of the country's economy were also rejected for the same reason.

As of 1983, the state adopted a course of total support for the activity of the private sector, including also in industry. It provided for the sale of previously nationalized enterprises whose owners had left the country in connection with the fall of the monarchy to private individuals.

In its economic activity, the regime also utilizes the legislative acts which were adopted under the Shah.

The path selected by the theologians allowed them to retain power simply because it made them participants in the process of moving along the capitalist path, in fact rejecting that utopian conception of "Islamic society of divine harmony" which they had themselves espoused. The departure from the petty bourgeois order in the direction of capitalist principles of managing the economy became a condition for the retention of power by the clergy, who skillfully combined this approach with petty bourgeois rhetoric.

The process of such a metamorphosis in the politics of the Shiite theologians turned out to be associated first of all with the removal of the liberal bourgeoisie from power, and secondly with the destruction and physical elimination of the leftist forces. Thirdly, this process required a careful approach to the petty bourgeoisie and the urban lower classes, which was to ensure the loyal behavior of these strata of society in relation to the religious leaders, who maintained power and inflicted terror on their enemies.

The solution of the first problem found its personified expression specifically in the following important facts: the provoked resignation of Prime Minister M. Bazargan (November 1979--the seizure of the U.S. embassy and the accusation of Bazargan of unlawful contacts with U.S. representatives in Algiers); the election of the medzhlis, in which 70 percent of the deputate positions went to the Party of the Islamic Republic, and 60 percent of the deputies were religious leaders of various ranks (spring of 1980); the selection of IRC member Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashimi Rafsanjani as chairman of the medzhlis (July 1980); the dismissal of IRI President and liberal-bourgeois leader A. Bani-Sadr² (June 1981--he was found to be politically incompetent and not suited for this post); the selection of the Shiite theologian Hojjat ol-Eslam Ali Hosein Khamenei to the post of president (October 1981); the appointment of Mir Hosein Musavi to the post of Prime Minister (October 1981).

The solution of the second problem--the elimination of the leftist forces on a large scale--was implemented in 1981 (destruction of the mojaheddin and fadaiyan) and in 1983 (executions and mass arrests of members of the People's Party of Iran, including all of its leadership).

The solution of the third problem--careful treatment of the petty bourgeoisie and the urban lower classes--bore and continues to bear a permanent character.

The bourgeois metamorphosis of the Shiite theologians took place on the basis of three main principles, which are presented here in order of their importance: freedom of free enterprise (primarily for the millions of small, petty and medium entrepreneurs engaged in industry, trade, and the sphere of services); unlimited political oppression; religion (Islam).

Free enterprise for the huge social strata indicated above is the decisive condition which allows it to maintain its existence. (Any obstacles to engaging in enterprise, if they are posed by the authorities, would lead to such indignation by the masses which could sweep away the existing regime).

The object of the political dictatorship's actions are the enemies of the regime. The huge mass of entrepreneurs is indifferent here, since its interests are not involved.

Islam serves merely as a form of socio-political life for the country. Upon closer examination, the religious fanaticism of the clergy turns out to be words, and to a much lesser degree deeds. This is understandable if we consider the fact that for the religious leaders the main thing is to retain power in their hands, and not to achieve the unswerving fulfillment of the directives of faith.

The retention of power in the hands of the Shiite theologians turned out to be associated also with the struggle against the rightist opposition. However, the latter spoke out merely with demands for accelerating the metamorphoses described above.

The realization of the indicated principles was accompanied by the implementation of foreign policy actions (the taking of U.S. embassy officials in Iran as hostages, the rejection of peaceful regulation of the Iran-Iraq armed conflict) which galvanized society as a whole and "justified" or "explained" the domestic problems.

The foreign policy course of the IRI, which rested on the conception of "neither East nor West, but only Islam" (neither communism nor capitalism, but only the path of Islam) showed its true essence: elevation of the anti-communism espoused by the Shiite theologians to the absolute, and the relative character of their anti-imperialism and aggression with implementation of the export of the "Islamic revolution."

Generalizing all that we have presented above, we have reason to say the following. The time elapsed since the revolution of 1978-1979 in Iran leaves no doubt as to the fact that essentially it gave nothing to the broad masses--at least in comparison with the pre-revolutionary period. (The exception to this is only the religious leaders of lowest rank, who have gotten rich by fishing in murky water). The reason for this is not only in the temporary difficulties of an economic and political character, which no revolution can avoid. In this case the matter is somewhat different. First, the desire of the Shiite theologians to seize and hold power in their hands from the very start of the revolution, as we have already noted, has been and remains for them a goal in itself. The second circumstance is closely tied with the first. In the name of solving the problem indicated above, these leaders, staying within the framework of the bourgeois, are ready to adapt themselves and do adapt themselves to the interests of whichever class (or social group) turns out to be the strongest. In Iran this class was and still is the bourgeoisie, at present primarily bourgeois trade. The regime's measures toward the lower classes (which essentially bear a charitable character) have the goal of

retaining influence over them and using them as a strike force in the implementation of the regime's plans.

The Shiite theologians, having consolidated around themselves all the strata of the Muslim clergy and acting as the hegemon of the revolution, have usurped the achievements of the truly all-people's anti-monarchistic and anti-imperialist revolution for their own class-corporative purposes. All this leads us to the following conclusion. The revolution of 1978-1979 in Iran is a historical fact. The "Islamic regime," which represents a theocratic dictatorship with capitalist content and which has taken the place of the Pahlavi monarchy, is also a historical fact. Yet the "Islamic revolution" is merely a label.

If we approach the Iranian revolution from the standpoint of the proletariat's fulfilling its historic mission, then we must focus our attention primarily on the lesson which this revolution has taught us. It is that the achieved level of development of capitalism which has led to the transformation of the capitalist order into the basic order in the system of production, and the place which the factory-plant proletariat occupied in the society's social structure on the eve of the revolution created a combination of factors which formed the objective basis for the country's embarking on a path of true progressive transformations. This would have ensured a *modus vivendi* for small-scale production, followed by its gradual social transformation. However, in the course of the revolution, the fact which was evident even in the pre-revolutionary period was confirmed. This was the deep inconsistency of the subjective factor with the objective.

This was manifested most clearly by the fact that the decisive blow to the monarchy was dealt by the strikes staged by the working class, while power turned out to be in the hands of the Shiite theologians. From the standpoint of socio-economic progress, the workers, and primarily the proletariat, missed a unique opportunity to direct the social movement of the country to the channel of true anti-imperialist and democratic development.

FOOTNOTES

1. The make-up of this Council was held in strict confidence.
2. A. Bani-Sadr came to Iran from France together with Khomeyni (1 February 1979) in the group of persons comprising the Ayatollah's closest associates.
3. We believe that there is reason to see the presence of a deep-seated tie between the content of this article and the problematics presented in the article by N. A. Simoniy, "The Formulation of Capitalism and Prerequisites of Proletarian Revolution in the Countries of the East" (RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, 1985, No 3).

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID PRAISED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 86 pp 24-27

[Article by B. Bogdanov: "Cracks in the 'Monolith', or Exploded Myth"]

[Excerpts] The expression "hot August" is hardly applicable to South Africa, where during this time of the year it is not summer which is drawing to an end, but winter. However, August of 1985 in the Republic of South Africa (SAR) turned out to be really hot—not in its weather, but in the heat of the political events. However, since September of 1984, when the present, in many ways unprecedented wave of anti-racist demonstrations arose, there was not a single calm month in the country, not a single "quiet" week. And yet last August stands out. It became hot not only in Soweto and Alexander, Guguleta and Nyanga, which were populated by Africans, Indians, and "coloreds" in the suburbs of the industrial centers, but also in the places where up until now they had only heard of street confrontations between the punitive forces and the demonstrators, where they were not accustomed to clouds of tear gas and armed policemen with dogs.

A column of young people moved along the central streets of Johannesburg, in a quarter securely isolated from the teeming "black ghettos." Above this column floated placards demanding the provision of human dignity for every South African, the repeal of the state of emergency, and the return of the troops to their camps. It was not only the place of action which was unusual. The slogans were being carried by whites--students from Witwatersrand University, one of the largest in the SAR. The citizens were in for another shock. Those who with indifference would walk by a policeman beating up a black now saw how the clubs fell onto the heads of those who were like them. The young men in uniform who blocked the path of the demonstration were in no way troubled by the fact that its participants belonged to the "chosen race." Thirty-two students received serious injuries. At the same time, hundreds of kilometers from Johannesburg in Capetown University, a boycott of classes was begun as a sign of solidarity with the struggle of the African majority. Here too white policemen dealt blows to white young men and girls and threw them into paddy wagons with screened windows. In those days, an NBC television correspondent (USA) accurately compared the South African student towns with American ones during the time of the Vietnam War.

What happened? Why are those for whom it should be a sin to complain about the existing order in the SAR protesting against apartheid?

The unrest in the universities reflects the deep shifts in South Africa which have also touched the white community. The local and foreign press now write extensively about what is going on in its midst. Some authors sharply criticize the evil doings of the racist leadership. Others do not hide their nostalgia at the disappearance of the "white heaven." However, practically all of them agree that the white community is changing--and changing irreversibly.

The image of the white man which has long been cultivated here--the white man sure of himself, sacredly preserving the traditions of the first European settlers, strongly and masterfully standing on the land of South Africa--is appearing to be ever more of an illusion. Alarm, confusion, the fear of tomorrow, and the feeling of impossibility of living in the old manner are creeping into his consciousness.

These feelings and thoughts have arisen not suddenly, not all at once. They came out of the depths of the African ghetto, which despite the police terror have become undamped centers of anti-racist unrest. They penetrated to the official streets of Johannesburg and the privileged quarters of Capetown together with the young Africans who dared proclaim their aspirations in the prohibited "white" zone. They were awakened by the click of the market teletypes which reported the continued drop in the exchange value of the South African rand. They were remembered with the news of the death of Corporal Johann Shuman--the first white soldier killed in a clash with demonstrators. They intensified with the powerful increase in the world campaign for the isolation of the Pretoria regime.

The course towards "reform" taken by the government of President Pieter Botha also played its role. These were called for at the price of insignificant concessions to the dark-skinned population in order to retain the most important thing--the supremacy of the minority. According to the definition of the Institute of Race Relations, apartheid rests on "seven basic cornerstones." These are the prohibition of inter-racial marriages and extra-marital relations, segregated living conditions for representatives of the various racial groups, segregation in the system of education and the sphere of leisure, "bantustanization" and absence of the general electoral right. The abolition of some, even the least important, of these points caused a contradictory reaction among white South Africans, varying from the accusation of Botha as being a "traitor" to calls for radical changes.

More and more cracks are spreading throughout the infamous "monolith" of the white community, whose myth has so long been supported by the conservative circles of the SAR. Hundreds and thousands of people, stepping over their age-old prejudices, are joining the fighters against apartheid. The "hard-headed" ones are taking the side of the extreme reactionary forces who dream of a fascist dictatorship. Many are concerned with finding some kind of a compromise which would suit everyone and appease the world community.

* * *

The white man speaking out in favor of abolishing the racist order is by far not a new phenomenon in the SAR. The journal AFRICAN COMMUNIST, the organ of the South African communist party, is headed by the white publicist and writer Brian Banting. The flaming patriot Ruth First, killed by agents of the regime, was white. The national chairman of the SACP, one of the leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, Joe Slovo--is also white. The personification of racism is the main theme in the works of the poet Breighton Breightenbach and the writers Andre Brink and Nadine Gordimer. And while quite recently they were the rare exception, today the participation of whites in the movement against apartheid is becoming an ever more notable tendency in the country's political life.

One of the largest daily newspapers of the SAR, the Johannesburg STAR by tradition on the eve of the Christmas holidays asks its readers whom they would pick for "woman of the year." At the end of 1985 this title went not to a movie star, not to the wife of a millionaire, and not to the famous runner Zola Budd. The STAR subscribers, white and black alike, expressed their preference for Wendy Orr--a humble resident of Port Elizabeth. Working as a police doctor, she was not afraid to publicly criticize the torture and mockery which took place in the jails, although such "audacity" cost her her job. The community of South Africa and other countries learned of the atrocities of the racist secret police from a very undesirable witness. Both the great civic courage of the doctor, and the fact that it was evaluated by many white citizens of the SAR are most indicative.

The harsh reprisals against the participants in anti-racist demonstrations outrage not only Wendy Orr. "After the soldiers have been sent to the African villages, soldiers who shoot peaceful residents, beat and poison them with tear gas, rape the women, and rob the houses, I cannot put on an army uniform." This is what 21-year old Harold Winkler from Johannesburg decided. Having received his military induction notice, he categorically refused to join the ranks of the chastisers and went on a 3-week hunger strike as a sign of protest against the outrages committed by the soldiers and the police. Harold is by far not alone in his convictions. "Not many people want to join the army," says 22-year old Capetown University law student Anthony Gordon. "When you become a soldier, you pledge allegiance to the government, and this means also to apartheid." Every year, several thousand young people avoid the draft or desert. Unlike Winkler, not all of them risk open protest. For example, 27-year old Bernard Butler-Smith acted differently. Having served 2 years in the army and receiving leave, he fled the country. "I would rather die than return home," he announced. "There they made me kill innocent men, women and children. I am afraid to think about what I have done, and I won't protect racism any more."

The feeling of guilt before their dark-skinned countrymen and the reluctance to play the role of masters on the basis of their racial grouping is becoming ever more widespread among the white youth. Serviceman Danny du Plessy expressed the frame of mind of many of those his age. His sensational photograph--holding a black baby in his arms--was published by the newspaper BELD. Responding to the threats of racists, he wrote: "It is time for all of us to forget what we thought 20 or 30 years ago. We must look at the world around us and begin to live as the times demand." By the way, Danny is a descendant of those same

Afrikaaner farmers (descendants of the Dutch and French settlers) who comprise the most conservative category of whites and whom the proponents of "pure" apartheid see as their main support.

Another, immeasurably more influential group of whites, which is ever more notably diverging in its opinion with the ruling leadership, has different motives. These are the big entrepreneurs. They are worried not by the mass victims among the Africans, but by the economic decline. "Their well-being is being threatened, and they do not want to reconcile themselves with this," writes the well-known SAR observer Deon du Plessy.

The country has probably never known such a crisis in economics as the present one, which is directly associated with the political crisis. It is enough merely to remember two hapless "records" of 1985--the lowest rate of exchange in history for the rand, and the highest level of inflation. The political instability scares western capital investors away from the Pretoria regime. Several large corporations have already ceased production at their South African plants. The western banks are not enthusiastic in their reactions to the requests of the SAR to extend loan payments. All this cannot help but alarm "big business" in South Africa. And now in September of 1985 there appears an announcement in the newspapers. Its authors control 70 percent of the country's economic potential. They call for the government "to satisfy the hopes of all South Africans in the political, social and economic spheres." The owner of a hotel chain and millionaire Saul Krzner insists: "The time has come to show some courage. We must speed up reforms and eliminate apartheid so that harmony and peace may reign in our society." A group of industrial magnates headed by the chairman of the board of the almighty Anglo-American Corporation Gavin Relly goes to Lusaka for a meeting with the leaders of the ANC--an organization white official Pretoria considers its number one enemy.

The trip by the businessmen, whose example turned out to be contagious for the leaders of the parliamentary opposition, church leaders, and students at the prestigious Stellenbosch University, evoked undisguised irritation in Pretoria. "Contacts with the ANC are equivalent to insubordination to state authority," ominously announced the president's office. Yet the actions of the industrialists are completely within the framework of the slogan presented by P. Botha himself: "Adapt or perish." Their plans certainly do not include handing over power to the majority. They only want South Africa to stop being a parable on the tongues of the entire world, and to become a "normal" bourgeois state. This fact was openly stated by Gary Oppenheimer, the uncrowned "diamond king", former head of Anglo-American, and proponent of rapid reforms: "If people of all races are not able to share the benefits which private enterprise gives, then the changes, which are inevitable in any case, will take on a revolutionary form."

To hold on to their privileges or to decline them for the sake of a unified and democratic South Africa? This is the alternative which ever more persistently demands an answer from the country's white residents. Most of them have not yet made the choice, waiting and hoping that the government will be able to somehow untangle the mass of problems and contradictions. Some hope to sit out the storm behind police lines, or behind the walls of their villas which have been turned into fortresses stocked with weapons.

Some prefer to run from the crisis by going abroad. Lines are forming at the western consulates of those wanting to emigrate. The STAR is already warning of a serious danger of a "brain drain." After all, the first to want to leave are the trained specialists for whom it is easier to find work in the West. There is also a drain in capital. Despite the ban, ever more whites are transferring their money abroad. According to the computations of the France Press Agency, around 1.5 million South Africans have the possibility of obtaining foreign citizenship. But for the main part of the whites, and primarily for the Afrikaaners, this is not the answer. They have become too deeply rooted in South Africa and too far removed from those lands from which their ancestors came at one time. Moreover, by far not all of them are ready to leave their homeland. "Even if a black majority comes to power, I will stay," announced, for example, Harold Takendorf, editor of the pro-government FATHERLAND, one of the leading newspapers in the SAR. A symptomatic statement!

The turbulent course of events leaves white South Africans ever less time to think. The choice cannot be avoided. This choice will primarily determine their own fate.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ECONOMIC FACTORS IN GHANAIAN WORKERS STRUGGLE GIVEN

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 86 pp 28-31

[Article by S. Smagin, "We Will Take What Belongs To Us"]

[Excerpts] "What future awaits the TNC under worker's control?" announced the headline of an article in the London journal AFRICAN BUSINESS. It was reviewing the general sense of an entire series of similar publications whose motivation was the sharp exacerbation in the struggle of the Ghanaian workers, led by the trade unions, against the dominance of the international monopolies and for the management of production. "Our oldest exploiter". That is what they call the United Africa Company (UAC) in the country, which it has occupied since colonial times and is currently a branch of the transnational corporation Unilever. At the end of 1982, the workers at one of its factories, Ghana Textiles Printing, established their own control over the enterprise. The intention of the firm's board of directors to curtail production and to fire over 500 people was undermined by the textile workers, who convinced the government to nationalize the factory. The workers at the Dzhayapong Textiles, another UAC enterprise, followed their example. These actions were spearheaded by the trade union organizations and by the workers' committees which had been formed somewhat earlier at both factories.

Obviously, the West remembers very well that it was the achievement of independence by Ghana in March of 1957 that began the trend of national-liberation revolutions in Africa south of the Sahara, and that the decisive role in this was played by the struggle of the proletariat unified by the trade union center. And, it is clearly frightened of the new class example. However, most bourgeois authors associate the current demonstrations by the country's workers with the ascent to power of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) headed by J. Rawlings on 31 December 1981.

The program of socio-economic transformations in the interests of the popular masses presented by the PNDC undoubtedly facilitated the development of the workers' initiative in economics and public life as a whole. The government helped them create workers and people's committees for the protection of the revolution (RKZR and NKZR)—the rudimentary organs of democratic self government. And yet we should not consider the actions of the Ghanaian workers against the TNC to be merely the result of these political changes in the country, although they were very important. These actions, which are unusually active for the

forming proletariat of Tropical Africa, rest on the experience of the world workers movement as well as on the lessons of the internal class struggle.

* * *

Thanks to the forced development of the state sector of the economy, the numbers of the country's working class more than doubled in the years 1957-1966. (An analogous increase in the entire army of hired labor--from 267,400 to 567,800 persons--occurred already in the first 3 years of independence). The qualitative shifts in its make-up and position were also significant. This fact made applicable to Ghana the directive of V. I. Lenin on worker's control as a measure which may be implemented in a situation of political struggle of the proletariat even before the stage of actual socialist transformations.¹ After all, the necessity of such a struggle and such control was dictated by the basic contradiction in Ghanaian society--the continuing exploitation of the workers by the monopolies which (since the government used Western capital for the needs of industrialization) retained and even expanded their positions in numerous sectors.

The industrial facilities developed by the state were, for example, "under the patronage" of the United Africa Company which we have already mentioned. Back in the 60's it signed a contract promising to organize cotton production for the textile factories built at that time. However, it never did develop the plantations, and for a decade and a half the UAC forced Ghana to spend its currency for buying cotton from its foreign branches, all the while holding the textile workers of the Ghana Textiles Printing and Dzhayapong Textiles factories under the threat of layoffs due to shortage of raw materials. This example is by no means exceptional. "Can the management of the UAC name even one sector where the situation is any different as a result of its economic leadership?" angrily wrote the GHANIAN TIMES in 1982.

Turning to the experience of young Soviet Russia, which gave concessions to foreign companies, we will recall how V. I. Lenin demanded that we not lose our vigilance, and after concluding the concessional agreement "know how to monitor its fulfillment." He stressed that a "concession is also a form of struggle, a continuation of the class struggle in a different form..."² We cannot help but agree with the opinion of Soviet researchers who assumed that the presence in Ghana of foreign powers since colonial times, as well as the creation of new mixed stock associations with the participation of western monopolies during the first years of its independence directly required the involvement of the workers in control over their management.³

However, the possibilities of the working class to contribute to the success of the course of socialist orientation were lost. Adhering to the non-class conceptions of social development, the leaders of the PPC [People's Party Convention] ignored the conclusion of scientific socialism regarding the necessity of the certain autonomy of the trade unions in relation to the party and the state in the transitional period.⁴ Having "integrated" the Ghanaian Congress of Trade Unions into the structure of the PPC, the government proclaimed the important function of the trade unions--the protection of labor and living conditions of the workers--to be "outdated." The prohibition of

strikes dealt a blow to such a form of control over production already achieved by the proletariat as collective bargaining. The essence of the developed situation is particularly clear in comparison with the present-day position of the trade unions in most of the African countries of socialist orientation, where both of their functions—the protection of economic interests of the workers and the participation in the matters of managing production—stand out, in the words of M. I. Braginskiy, "as two sides of a single coin."⁵

Deprived of the right to initiative "from below," the Ghanaian proletariat, despite the hopes proclaimed by the PPC leadership that it "will be in the vanguard of socialist labor and construction," remained indifferent to the creation of workers committees at the enterprises. The co-owners of many of these guaranteed the foreign monopolies against general strikes. The trade unions--the mass support of the party during the period of struggle for independence--reacted with a lack of participation to the overthrow of the regime of K. Nkruma in 1966.

The monopolies who inspired the turnover acquired the enterprises of the state sector from the military junta for a pittance: the UAC--in the processing industry, and the British corporation Lonro--in gold mining. The American Valco obtained favorably cheap electrical energy by agreement, and began to produce aluminum for imported raw material from Jamaica, declining to smelt it from Ghanaian bauxites.

The increase in unemployment and the loss of many social benefits by the workers caused an increase in general strikes not sanctioned by the trade center (and often suppressed by armed force). Under pressure from them, the reformist leadership of the trade union center at that time was forced to present an ultimatum to the military junta, threatening to start a general strike. The civilian government of K. Busia which replaced the military administration in turn was toppled by the general strike of 1971 and fell as a result of the "high-level" turnover of 1972.

The struggle of the workers against the cliques who served the monopolies gave the impetus to the evolution of the political thought of K. Nkruma (who was in exile)--up to his acknowledgement in the last years of his life of the vital role of the proletariat in Ghanaian society. Soviet researchers associate the sources of this process also with the major demonstrations by Ghanaian workers back in the early 60's, when the government of K. Nkruma was first faced with the necessity of making a clear choice in favor of progressive transformations and taking the first measures against total power of the monopolies and the revelry of private enterprise. Since that time, K. Nkruma, gradually overcoming his "national-reformist dislike for the theory and practice of scientific socialism"⁶, became convinced that only the peasantry and the proletariat are capable of fully supporting a continuously socialist policy. Unfortunately, the ideological development of K. Nkruma lagged behind the changes in the objective social situation, which "determines the fate and meaning of the slogans, tactics, or general direction of the given party or group."⁷

The events in the early 80's showed that there are forces in Ghana who have learned a lesson from the failure of the revolutionary process. The policy of the PNDC headed by J. Rawlings has a number of traits which may be characterized as almost successive in regard to the "legacy" of K. Nkruma. The most important of these is the support on the initiative of the working class and all the workers organized into committees for defense of the revolution. Thus, both the line of the PNDC and the decisive actions of the proletariat against the TNK have common roots in the worker's movement of the 60's.

The 70's were marked by a further intensification of the anti-monopolist struggle, when the country's economy, which retained a colonial, agrarian-raw material character, was subjected to ever more intensive robbery by the TNK. In 10 years, there was a catastrophic decline in the load on industrial capacities of Ghana, its foreign debt increased sharply, inflation comprised 3000 percent, and unemployment almost tripled. The proletariat responded to this with the longest and most powerful strikes seen on the continent. The workers were supported by the white collar workers, the intelligentsia, and the students. The increase in the circle of participants in the anti-monopolistic protest motivated the proletariat to present, along with the traditional demands, also demands for increasing wages, improving working conditions, and similar slogans which had an all-national ring: control over inflation, stabilization of prices, and introduction of social benefits. These requirements, elementally combined into a program of state regulation of the relations between labor and capital, became ever clearer in contraposition to the growing political instability of society. Similarly, on the background of the kaleidoscopic change of five military and civilian governments, the authority of the trade unions grew.

In order to soften the social contradictions, foreign and local capital on the one hand and the ruling circles on the other tried to make certain concessions to the proletariat in the spirit of "class cooperation." Thus, the entrepreneurs already did not object to talks of the trade unions with the monopolies on questions of labor conditions (length of the work day, overtime, vacations). The head of the military government F. Akuffo, in his address to the trade union congress presented in 1978, even demagogically called for the workers to "hastily clean up society from all forms of corruption." In its turn, the executive committee of the Ghanaian Congress of Trade Unions, which fell under the influence of the western reformist trade centers, presented an initiative for creating certain consultative organs in which the representatives of business, government, and workers would participate. However, a further deterioration in the position of the masses reduced the changes of social maneuvering to zero. The sectorial trade unions, while not rejecting outright the policy of "co-participation" conducted by the Congress executive committee, presented their own proposals: supervision by the trade unions over the expenditures and organization of labor at enterprises in the state sector, ousting dealer-speculators from the sphere of passenger motor transport, and curtailment of financial machinations by foreign companies. The proletariat was also ready for decisive action against the TNK.

* * *

The monopolies themselves speeded up the development of events, deciding to turn the people's displeasure against the PNDC, which came to power on the eve of 1982 headed by J. Rawlings. Hindering the democratic transformations which had begun, they began to curtail production and lay off workers under the excuse of a shortage in raw materials. And here the many years of experience by the trade unions in their struggle for control over production came into action. We already know what happened at two of the UAC textile factories. Ghanaian labor greeted the government's satisfaction of the demands of both collectives on the nationalization of their enterprises with solidarity meetings attended by many thousands of people. "Messengers" reached out to the textile workers for experience in worker's control.

The results of independent management by Ghanaian textile workers are rather indicative. Having proclaimed their desire to "turn out more fabric for the people and thereby prove that the seizing of production was but the beginning of the struggle," they put the former UAC administrators to shame with successful annual results of the activity of the nationalized factories. Previously operating at a loss, these enterprises showed a profit for the first time. Struggling to increase labor productivity, the workers used the subbotnik [voluntary labor day] method—even on Christmas. The new attitude toward labor broke the discriminatory system of economic ties cultivated by the UAC. The textile workers organized cooperation with the state sector, began the development of cotton plantations to provide their factories with raw materials.

This experience gave a new content to the slogan presented by the government, "Power to the people!", and suggested specific means for implementing the measures outlined by the PNDC for saving the country's economy from bankruptcy. For example, the subbotniks which were organized everywhere by the trade unions and the RKZR facilitated the reduction of state expenditures and the strengthening of industry and agriculture. In the village, merging with the ancient custom of communal peasantry collectively performing certain seasonal work, they became an important means of social-domestic construction and expansion of the state and cooperative plantations. In many areas, city workers worked on the subbotniks side by side with the peasants, helping them obtain more produce for the people and more raw materials for industry. These joint efforts which are directed toward reducing Ghana's dependence on imports controlled by the monopolies, strengthen the union of the two social classes and aid in the development of a new, civic labor consciousness. Thanks to the financial supervision by the trade unions and the RKZR, it was possible to expose the maneuvers of the local agents of imperialist monopolies. This, in turn, raised the question of reviewing the law on capital investments for strict counteraction to raw material sabotage by the TNC. The 4-year plan for restoration and development of the economy which is currently in effect stresses the need for worker's control over the export-import policy.

The support of the economic management initiative of the workers by the state authorities facilitated the strengthening of positive changes achieved in the economy at the expense of internal resources. To a certain degree, Ghana's position in relation to western capital, which the country is still forced to attract, has been strengthened. At the demand of the trade unions and the community, certain points of the agreements with the TNC operating in Ghana have been reviewed. The representative of the World Bank admitted the "reality

and practicality" of the current state economic plan in his talks with the Ghanaian delegation regarding credit conditions. The experience of worker control in Ghana may, in our opinion, be viewed as a contribution to the struggle for a new international economic order under the conditions of Tropical Africa.

The movement along the path of social progress is far from easily given to Ghana. Foreign monopolies oppose radical changes just as vehemently as they did a quarter of a century ago, under K. Nkruma. Over 10 attempts to overthrow the government of J. Rawlings have been undertaken with the blessings of the TNC. An entire series of subversive actions by American intelligence has been exposed. At the end of 1985, Washington imposed economic sanctions against Ghana. Imperialist reaction expects to use the dissent in the PNDC and its supporting organizations and to lean on domestic counterrevolution.

This is why the slogan presented back in October of 1982 at the trade union conference in the city of Kumasi, where the resolution defining the character of interaction of the PNDC, the trade unions and the RKZR, has special significance: "Hand in hand in the highest interests of the working class."

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. V. I. Lenin. "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Collected Works] Vol 11, p 70; Vol 32 p 195-196.
2. Cf.: L. N. Lebedinskaya. Formation of the Conception of Social Development of Ghana in the Course of the Social Struggle (1957-1965). "Sovremennyye teorii sotsializma 'natsionalnogo tipa'" [Current Theories of Socialism of the "National Type"], Moscow, 1967, p 158-159.
3. Cf. V. I. Lenin. Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy, Vol 42, p 203.
4. M. I. Braginskiy. Certain Peculiarities and Tendencies in the Development of the Trade Union Movement in Africa. RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR, 1982, No 4, p 139.
5. R. A. Ulyanovskiy. "Politicheskiye portrety" [Political Portraits], Moscow, 1980, p118.
6. V. I. Lenin. Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy, Vol 23, p 335.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

TURKEY'S POSITION BETWEEN CAPITALIST WEST, ISLAMIC EAST NOTED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 86 pp 32-36

[Article by G. Starchenkov, candidate in economic sciences: "Turkey: Between Minarets and Missiles"]

[Text] In a relatively short historical period, the character of relations between Turkey and the imperialist and the so-called Islamic countries have changed significantly. The Turkish Republic has passed from confrontation with the developed capitalist powers at the moment of its inception to close cooperation at the present time. For many years the Turkish government ignored the struggle of the peoples of the "Muslim world" for liberation from colonial oppression. Now it is striving to establish privileged close relations with them. In the 20's and 30's it was believed that Islamic customs hinder the adaptation of Turkey to the values of current civilization. Now, Islamic slogans are actively used for increasing the country's economic potential and political influence. Even Turkey itself has begun to take on subimperialistic traits. Such a transformation is explained by the political (and socio-economic) evolution of the Turkish state and the changes in the international situation.

* * *

In the years of World War I, the Ottoman Empire, which had taken the side of Germany, was destroyed by the Entente states. First, British, French and Italian forces landed in the vitally important regions of the country. Then, under cover from military vessels of England, France and the United States—Greek contingents landed. The occupation powers proceeded to draw up plans for eliminating the sovereignty of the conquered state (to divide up the empire or to hand it over under a U.S. mandate). Under these difficult conditions, a national-liberation movement headed by M. Kemal (Atatyurk) arose. Its militia was at first able to destroy the "Khalifat peacekeeping army," created by the sultan-khalif who took the side of the occupation forces, to press the forces of the British, French and Italian interventionists, and subsequently—to defeat the Greek forces. The occupation armies were forced to leave Turkish territory and in 1923 the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed.

K. Atatyurk, who became its first president, was rather wary of the imperialist states, declining participation in their military-political alliances. It was only after his death (1938) and especially after the ascent to power of the

Democratic Party (1950) that the strengthened Turkish trade-industrial bourgeoisie began to openly depart from the foreign policy principles of kemalism. The ruling circles maintained that close cooperation with the countries of the West, primarily the USA, would allow them to receive economic aid and current technology, and to bring Turkey closer to the level of the developed capitalist states.

During those years, the United States, armed with the atomic bomb, began to carry out plans for achieving world supremacy. They created military blocks and surrounded the Soviet Union and the other socialist states with military bases. The American generals paid particular attention to the favorable strategic position of Turkey, which was at the juncture of three continents and had an extensive border with the USSR. Thus, both sides showed an interest in rapprochement.

In 1947 the USA first gave military aid to Turkey under the "Truman Doctrine", and in 1948 it gave economic aid under the "Marshall Plan." From this moment on, the foreign policy activity of the Turkish ruling circles began to equate itself to U.S. policy.¹ In 1949, Turkey sent a military contingent to Korea to prove its loyalty to the "interests of the western world." In 1952 it entered the NATO aggressive military block, and in 1955 it entered CENTO (which at that time was called the Baghdad Pact).² Military bases were hurriedly set up by the USA and NATO on Turkish territory, where first fighter planes, and then missiles were based.

The transformation of Turkey into a military forepost of imperialism and its establishment of friendly relations with Israel (from 1949) placed it in opposition to the overwhelming majority of the Islamic countries. In the UN it spoke out against granting independence to the Algerian people. In 1956, Turkey condemned Egypt's decision on the nationalization of the Suez Canal, and was the only country in the Near and Middle East to support the three-time Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression. In 1958, Turkish territory was used to make a U.S. military landing on Lebanon in an attempt to force a regime suitable to imperialism on this Arab country. Turkey expressed its readiness to participate in aggression against Iraq when in 1958 there was a state turnover here and the new government took the country out of the pro-imperialist block. Thus, Turkey, gaining freedom and independence in the anti-imperialist struggle, became the ally of imperialism in suppressing the national-liberation movement in the near eastern region.

After the state turnover of 1960 in Turkey, the need was recognized for re-evaluating a number of aspects of foreign political activity. The question here did not involve the change in the character of the ties with the imperialist states or participation in the NATO and CENTO blocks, but in the normalization of relations with the neighboring, primarily Islamic, countries. The Turkish government sent "goodwill missions" to the Arab states, which were to advertise the "independence of Turkey from the countries of the West" and continue the expansion of trade-economic and cultural ties. Most of the Arab leaders pointed out three main circumstances which hindered the proposed rapprochement: Turkey's participation in the imperialist blocks and the presence of foreign military bases on its territory; the support of friendly Turkish-Israeli relations; the retention of laicist customs in Turkey (a departure from a number of Islamic dogmas).

The "new approach" was subjected to great trials during the war of 1967 unleashed by Israel against Egypt, Syria and Jordan. On one hand, Turkey wanted to retain close ties with Israel and to demonstrate its loyalty to the United States, who had supported this aggression. On the other hand, it wanted to develop relations with the Arab countries. And Turkey was the first to depart from total support of Israel (which had never happened in previous Arab-Israeli wars), declaring its neutrality. And after the cessation of military actions, without worsening relations with Israel and without calling it the aggressor, Turkey joined those states who demanded the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories.

The events of the mid-70's required the introduction of even greater corrections into the mutual relations of Turkey with the Islamic countries. The fourth Arab-Israeli war, which began in October 1973, led for the first time to global economic repercussions. The oil producing Arab countries stopped the supply of oil to the USA (for supplying Israel with weapons) and Holland (for its openly pro-Israeli position). They also curtailed oil production and achieved a sharp increase in oil prices on the world market (by 1980 the price on oil underwent a 20-time increase). Turkey, which imported 80 percent of the oil used in the country from the near-eastern region, was forced to take a definite stand in support of the Arab countries in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The energy, and then the structural crisis, led to the curtailment of a number of sectors in the countries of the West. This, on the one hand, hindered the development of commodity turnover with the EEC countries (from 1964 Turkey became an associate member of the Common Market), and on the other--led to a reduction in hiring and even to the deportation of Turkish workers (their money drafts to their homeland fluctuated within the limits of 2-3 billion dollars a year). The currency influx into Turkey was sharply reduced, while the expenditures for buying oil increased at an unusual rate. By the late 70's, an acute crisis developed in the country. The Turkish government turned to its western allies for emergency aid, as well as to certain Islamic countries which in a short while had become the world's largest creditors.

In 1974 the crisis of the Cypriot state flared up. Less than a third of the population here was comprised of Turks. The Turkish government, alluding to the increased danger of the annexation of Cyprus by Greece, landed its troops on the island and took almost 40 percent of the territory under its control. Turkey assisted in every way the division of the island and the formation of an "independent" Turkish Cypriot state. The actions of the Turkish government evoked a reserved reaction from the USA (back in 1964 the American president warned of the prohibition against using American weapons against Cyprus), as well as the displeasure of some of the NATO allies (France, Italy and others). Under the conditions which had been created, Turkey began to seek support from the Islamic countries. In order to achieve its economic and political goals, it began to make broad appeals for Islamic solidarity.

In their time, the kemalists affirmed that the inertness of Muslim traditions was the reason for the fall of the Ottoman Empire, and may serve as an important obstacle in Turkey's achieving the current level of civilization. Therefore,

in the 20's-30's they abolished the khalifate, separated religion from the state, replaced the shariat with the civil codex, developed a secular system of education, and prohibited the reading of the Koran in Arabic. Moreover, Arabic letters were replaced by Turkish, the Muslim chronology with the Gregorian calendar, and even Muslim dress--with European. Measures for the emancipation of women were implemented. During that period, this helped to bring Turkey closer to the western countries, and made it farther removed from the Muslim countries of the East.

With Turkey's changeover to the multi-party system (1945), the Islamic factor gradually began to be used in domestic policy, since the parties which spoke out in favor of the restoration of certain religious traditions received the support of a significant portion of the rural population. From the late 40's, the teaching of Islam in the primary schools was restored. Then educational institutions for the training of imams were formed, theology departments were instituted at universities, and it was once again permitted to read the Koran in Arabic. By the 80's there were already several political parties in Turkey, which not only demanded a return to the directives of Islam, but also decisively insisted on using them for purposes of expanding the economic and cultural ties with the Muslim countries. Gradually the Islamic factor began to be introduced into the foreign policy activity. In 1969 Turkey participated in the first Muslim conference in Rabat, and then entered all the Islamic organizations. The reanimation of Muslim traditions allowed it to establish such ties with the Islamic countries which the imperialist states did not have.

In September of 1980 there was a state turnover in Turkey. The army generals who seized power announced the necessity of "restoring the principles of kemalism," and "the inadmissability of resorting to Islam for political purposes." A number of articles in the constitution, which was adopted in 1982, categorically prohibited the use of the religious factor by political parties and organizations. General K. Evren, who became the president of the republic in 1982, and T. Ozal, who headed the first civilian government after the military overthrow, were of the same opinion.

However, the genie had already been let out of the bottle. And although the political parties presently deal very carefully with religious questions (since this threatens them with disbanding), the teaching of Islam in the state schools continues to gain ground. Every day, lectures on Koran propaganda are read over state radio and television. New mosques are being ceremoniously opened in the country. K. Evren met personally with the high clergy of the city of Konya, which is considered to be the religious center of the country. Turkish pilgrims by the tens of thousands visit Mecca every year.

The "Islamic factor" has become used even more actively in the foreign policy, economic and military activity. It is true that this obligated Turkey to condemn in ever more harsh terms the aggressive policy of Israel and to speak out in support of the rights of the Palestinian people. In 1976 it granted approval for setting up a PLO delegation in Ankara (this was done 3 years later). In 1979 the Turkish government condemned the Camp David agreement and voted for suspending Egypt's membership in the Islamic Conference Organization. In 1980, after Israel's announcement of the final annexation of Jerusalem, it reduced the level of diplomatic relations with it to the rank of second consul secretary,

and severed trade-economic ties. In 1982 Turkey decisively condemned Israeli aggression against Lebanon. All this allowed it to noticeably improve relations with a number of Islamic states, and some of them (Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia) expressed a readiness to recognize the "Turkish Republic of North Cyprus".

Such a policy by Turkey, although it does definite harm to Israel, a strategic ally of the USA, nevertheless creates additional possibilities for the penetration of imperialist states into the Muslim world. This is why, in answer to the question of whether Turkey's orientation toward the development of relations with the Arab and Muslim countries causes concern on the part of its NATO allies, K. Evren assured that such a policy complies with the interests of the states in this region as well as the countries in this block. T. Ozal expressed himself even more definitely when he pointed out that Turkey must become the "bridge" between the countries of the West and the Islamic states.

We may conclude that in the 80's the development of events is taking place specifically in this direction. In 1981 in Ankara and Istanbul the "Center for the Study of Muslim History, Culture and Art," "The Center for Statistical, Economic and Social Research Under the Islamic Bank of Development" and others were formed. Meetings and conferences of leaders of the Islamic countries were held in these cities, with K. Evren and T. Ozal present. In accordance with the adopted decisions, Turkey promised to render aid to the Islamic centers and institutes in the countries of Africa and Asia. At the present time, the secular state has become one of the largest centers of Muslim activity.

Today the call for "Islamic solidarity" sounds like the magic words from the stories of "A Thousand and One Nights": "Open, sesame!" And the doors to the petroleum producing Arab countries opened for the Turkish companies. Early in 1985 there were almost 300 Turkish contract companies in the near eastern states (the largest of which were "Kutlutash," "Enka," "Tekfen" and others). They employed around 200,000 Turkish workers, including in Mecca and Medina, where access to non-Muslims was denied. The income of the companies and the money transfers of the workers became an important source of replenishing the country's currency reserves.

The Turkish banks also went beyond the margins of national boundaries. In 1983 "Yapy ve dredi bankasy" became the first bank to open in Bahrain. Following suit, the Anatoliy Bank opened its branch in Djid, and the Pamukbank—in Teheran. Also, while in the imperialist states the Turkish banks are engaged generally in the accumulation of investments by the Turkish workers there, in the Islamic countries they resort to operations which may be qualified as the initial stage of the export of capital.

The Turkish government is officially announcing its intention to turn the country into the financial center of the Islamic world. It believes that the necessary situation has been created. Lebanon, which used to be one of the world's largest bankers, has lost its significance. Iran and Iraq, exhausting each other with a senseless war, cannot aspire to such a role, while a number of Islamic states are scaring away foreign financial magnates with their conservative nature or extremism. However, the calls by Turkey to keep capital on its territory have found a response in the West as well as in the East. In 1984, the 19th foreign bank opened in Istanbul.

In the 80's, Turkey expanded its practice of creating "mixed", primarily industrial enterprises. At first there were plans to attract the capital of imperialist states to production activity, and subsequently also that of the oil producing countries. Today there are tens and hundreds of enterprises operating in the Turkish economy with the participation of foreign capital. Soon these "Turkish" enterprises expanded their activity in the Islamic states, which retain a wary attitude to purely imperialist organizations. Moreover, firms have arisen in the near eastern region in which American, Turkish and Arab capital is intertwined (for example in "Midgulf International Trade Company"). Thus, Turkish mediators gained some benefit from creating the alliance of TNC [trans-national corporation] representatives and the relative beginning entrepreneurs of the Islamic world.

We must note that in recent years in the Muslim countries, and particularly in the near eastern region, a considerable differentiation has taken place. The demarcation here takes place along many rather nonequivalent but rather significant criteria: social orientation, attitude toward Israel, level of obtained income, attitude toward the warring Iran and Iraq, and a number of others. Moreover, the activity of the USA and other NATO members facilitates the political disunification of the Islamic world, while the efforts of Israel are aimed at its political and religious schism. Today the Muslim countries present a much more hybrid picture than was the case 20 or even 10 years ago.

The United States, utilizing the growing differentiation of the Islamic states and scaring them with the infamous "Soviet menace," have achieved an increase in international tensions in this region of the world. Today there are American military bases not only in Turkey, but also on the territory of a number of Arab countries. The USA has created Centcom—"central command," which arbitrarily took on the function of "protecting" 19 Afro-Asian states.

At the same time, Washington continues to involve Turkey ever more into its military plans. According to the new military agreement with the USA signed in 1980, this country began to receive increased American aid (by its sum it is third in the world after Israel and Egypt). The American system of early air warning and control AWACS--is located on Turkish territory. As of 1985, the Turkish state company "Petrol ofisi" took on the responsibility of supplying ships of the U.S. 6th fleet and the American military air base in Indjirlik with fuel. The modernization and construction of new U.S. military bases is taking place in the eastern part of Turkey. Bases are also being constructed for the "rapid deployment forces" for the purpose of "ensuring the more flexible application of American armed forces in the Persian Gulf." A special group has been created in the country comprised of military and civilian rank, which studies the possibilities of Turkish participation in the American "star wars" program.

No less important is the fact that the USA, which supplies weapons to Turkey, has now reached an agreement on production of these weapons in the country and their sale to Islamic states in the near eastern region. At the present time, American companies on Turkish territory are working on the construction of enterprises for manufacturing fighter-bombers and engines for them. West German firms are building a plant for the production of heavy tanks. Soon Turkish military technology manufactured for the capital and according to the

technology of the imperialist states will move across the Turkish "bridge" to the Islamic countries (except for Iran and Iraq, to whom Turkey has promised not to supply military goods).

Thus, in recent years the economic, political and military ties of Turkey with the imperialist West have been noticeably strengthened. The country has become even more integrated into the system of the international capitalist economy. Within the boundary of Turkey and beyond its borders, "mixed" enterprises are being developed in which the Turks play the role of the junior partner. At the same time, Turkey under the banner of Islam has expanded its economic, political and military cooperation with the Muslim countries. At the same time, it not only introduces itself, but also acts as a mediator and assists in the penetration of the TNC into the countries of the Islam world. At the present moment, Turkish ruling circles ascribe particular importance to the military cooperation with a number of the Arab countries. In the opinion of the experts, a symbol of modern Turkey may be a bridge, with minarets on one side and missiles on the other. A meeting will be held on this bridge between big business of the imperialist states, Turkey, and the Islamic countries.

FOOTNOTES

1. During that period, American state leaders affirmed that "Turkey and Israel are the only countries in the Near East on whom the USA can totally depend."
2. The leaders of this block announced that "the Baghdad Pact...protects the interests of 150 million Muslims."

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

HISTORY OF SOVIET-SAUDI RELATIONS RECALLED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 86 pp 54-57

[Article by M. Venin: "USSR-Saudi Arabia: From the History of Relations"]

[Excerpts] Sixty years have passed since the time of establishing relations between the USSR and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The Soviet Union was the first country to recognize the Kingdom of "Khidjaz, Nedja and its adjoining regions" (from September 1932--the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) and to establish diplomatic relations with it. "The USSR government, stemming from the principle of self-determination of peoples and deeply respecting the will of the Gedjassi people expressed in your selection as king, recognizes Your Highness as king of Gedjas,¹ sultan of Nedja and its adjoining areas," states the note dated 16 February 1926 given to the head of the new government, King Abdel Aziz. "Because of this, the Soviet government considers itself to be in a state of normal diplomatic relations with Your Highness's government."² In the note of response dated 19 February 1926, the king wrote: "...My government expresses its gratitude to the USSR government, as well as its full readiness to conduct relations with the USSR government... which are inherent for friendly powers."³

This good will gesture had great significance for Abdel Aziz (in the historical literature he is also called Ibn Saud), and gave him vital and very necessary support at that period. After the Soviet Union, other states also recognized Saudi Arabia. However, the matter did not end there. The significance of the very fact of recognition went far beyond the framework of a purely diplomatic action.

At that time, the Saudi kingdom represented a conglomerate of different, constantly warring tribes. In order to preserve and strengthen the foundations of the newly formed state, it was necessary to create its political structures, to cement them with strong economic ties, and to implement social shifts. It was necessary to overcome the age-old backwardness in the political, social, economic and other spheres.

The activity of Abdel Aziz, directed at implementing an independent political course and strengthening the country's sovereignty, caused considerable concern for Great Britain, which occupied the predominant position in the region at that time in the political as well as in the economic sphere. Striving to

retain its influence in Arabia, England tried in every way possible to intensify the instability and tension here, to weaken the authority of Abdel Aziz , and to force him to reject the course which he was implementing. The British sent their agents to the tribes who opposed the king, kindled opposition sentiments in those around him, and set the rulers of neighboring states against Abdel Aziz .

In this complex situation, the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Saudi Arabia and the subsequent development of ties between the two countries in various spheres had great significance for the king's rule, aiding it in withstanding the onslaught of its enemies and in strengthening its positions within the country and in the Arab world. In analyzing this stage in Soviet-Saudi relations, the first Soviet diplomatic representative in Djidd, K. Khakimov, wrote: "The recognition of the Soviet government played a significant role for Ibn Saud. It strengthened his position in Arabia in that it served as the reason motivating England and other powers to recognize Ibn Saud. The recognition by England, which bore a rather hasty character, may be viewed even as being forced... But our recognition...was also important in that it very clearly stressed to Ibn Saud our friendly policy toward him and the fact that he can find moral support from us in his steps directed toward the emancipation of his country."⁴

The principles of equal rights, respect for the sovereignty of large and small states, non-intervention in their internal affairs, and the readiness of the USSR to render support to the peoples fighting for political and economic independence, as pronounced in the very first days of the existence of the Land of the Soviets, including also in the documents directly addressed to the peoples of the East, met with widespread acclaim. They were perceived with deep interest also in Saudi Arabia. The words contained in the address to the working Muslims of Russia and the East regarding the fact that Soviet Russia "...opposes the seizure of foreign lands...You must be the masters of your own country. You must organize your own life in your own manner and custom. You have the right to this, since your fate is in your own hands," appealed to the sense of national dignity and pride inherent in the Saudi leader and his aspirations for the independence of his homeland.

All this created favorable prerequisites for ordering relations between the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia, which underwent further development after they were established.

The trade associations with the USSR, which were implemented through the Blizhvostokintorg Association, had important significance for the Saudis. The Soviet products—these were generally goods of primary necessity: sugar, flour, kerosene, fabrics, and hardware—were very popular with the local population. The appearance in the country of quality Soviet goods which were sold at the standard world prices had a definite positive effect on the economic position in Saudi, and helped it to stabilize its position in the domestic market, where at that time the British merchants were expanding their monopoly.

Goods from the USSR to Saudi Arabia were delivered by Soviet ships, which began making regular runs between Odessa and Djidd in 1927.

The trade with the USSR became known not only in Arabia, but also beyond its boundaries. "Soviet goods," wrote the Iranian newspaper SHEFAG-Z-SORH in those days, "presently sell well in the markets of Djidd, from which they are distributed to other cities in Arabia."

Soviet doctors, who worked in an out-patients clinic at the USSR General Consulate in Djidd, left a good impression. They helped not only the Soviet citizens, but also the local population, seeing 15-20 patients a day.

The political contacts and meetings of Soviet representatives with the king and with the country's top political leaders were important in regulating bilateral Soviet-Saudi relations. In the course of these meetings, fruitful and productive dialog arose, which served as the basis for the emergence of mutual understanding and trust between the two countries. King Abdel Aziz, in one of his messages addressed to G. V. Chicherin (at that time the USSR People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs) expressed "deepest satisfaction that the relations between our two governments are developing in a friendly manner."⁵ And subsequently, Abdel Aziz, members of the king's family and high-level Saudi leaders often gave a high evaluation to the relations which were developing between our countries.

Here we cannot forget that considerable credit in the establishment and favorable development of multilateral ties between the two states belongs to the first Soviet plenipotentiary in Saudi Arabia, Kerim Khakimov. His uncommon abilities, intelligence, inborn sense of tact, excellent knowledge of the language, history and culture of the Arabs earned him the respect and trust of the Saudis. "For K. Khakimov," noted the king in the above-mentioned message, "I have only praise, and can testify to his tactfulness and skilled handling of all that concerns him. This furthers in every way the friendly relations between our two countries."⁶

An indicator of the successful development of Soviet-Saudi ties between the two countries was, for example, the agreement on the reorganization of the diplomatic agency and USSR general consulate in Djidd into a diplomatic mission, effective 1 January 1930.

An important event in the history of relations between our two countries was the visit to the Soviet Union in May-June 1932 by the son of the king of Saudi Arabia, crown prince Faisal, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, and subsequently (1964-1975) crown ruler of Saudi Arabia.

The favorable development of Soviet-Saudi ties, the organization of trade and contacts in other spheres began not only to irritate, but even to seriously upset England. Slandorous fabrications began to appear on the pages of British newspapers regarding the goals of Soviet policy in Arabia and the adjoining regions. "The matter consists of a new attempt by Soviet diplomacy," affirmed for example CHESTER LLOYD, "to shatter one of the most important supports holding up the bridge between Asia and Africa under the guise of economic interests." "The efforts by Moscow to seek out the friendship of the Arabs," directly stated the DAILY TELEGRAPHY, "are made to spite England and Italy, against whom the Soviet propaganda in Arabia is turning its forces."

The British tried in every way possible to discredit the activity of the Soviet representatives in Arabia, feeding the Saudi leaders "information" about the fact that the Soviet Union is supposedly engaged in spreading communist propaganda there and is undermining the foundations of the Muslim religion. Direct political and economic pressure was also placed on the Saudis for the purpose of forcing them to break relations with the USSR.

In 1939, on the eve of World War II, in connection with the reduction in its network of USSR diplomatic representatives abroad, the Soviet diplomats were recalled from Djidd.

Subsequently, relations between our countries did not undergo extensive development. At the same time, we cannot overlook the fact that the position of the Soviet Union in support of Saudi Arabia's struggle for strengthening its national independence and the first contacts of the USSR with the Saudi kingdom (and then with Yemen) were those seeds which later gave gratifying shoots of Soviet-Arab friendly ties in various parts of the Arab world.

Probably the most important was the fact that even then, at the very earliest stage of formulation of the system of Arab-Soviet relations, the Arabs felt the effectiveness of the new democratic, truly just principles of international contact, including also between states with different social orders. The young socialist state not only proclaimed these principles, but actively brought them to life.

Today, having travelled over half a century along the path of development, Soviet-Arabic relations have become an important means of strengthening the independence of the Arab countries and have been transformed into an effective factor in world politics. For the entire duration of its existence, the Soviet Union has supported the aspirations of the Arab countries to decide their own fate, to command its own wealth. It facilitates in every way possible their participation in international affairs as an independent, active and equal force. The increased role of the Arab states in the world arena is a shining example of the realization of Lenin's prediction: the time will come when the peoples of the East will participate in determining the fate of the entire world.

Despite the fact that the ties of the Soviet Union with the Arab countries have become traditional, it would be erroneous to believe that there are no difficulties along this path. There are certain forces who are trying to complicate these relations, spreading "conceptions" about the "incompatibility" of the interests of the Arabs and the Soviet Union, and presenting theories on the "insufficient aid" of the USSR or the "plot between the USSR and the USA at the expense of the Arab peoples."

History has repeatedly confirmed the viability of Soviet-Arab relations. The Arab people have occasion again and again to be convinced of the sincerity and principle of the political course of the USSR, particularly in the Near East. This course receives a high evaluation in the Arab world, which is evidenced by the announcements of numerous political leaders of countries in this region, including Saudi Arabia. "The Soviet Union has a particularly important role in the Near East," said, for example, the kingdom's minister of foreign affairs,

Saud al-Feisal in an announcement to the weekly AL-MUSTAKBAL. "Saudi Arabia has a high evaluation of the USSR's position on the Palestinian problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict. This has repeatedly been stated by Saudi leaders, including King Fahd. We also do not forget that Arabs have used Soviet weapons in the interests of self defense and for turning back Israeli aggression."

The eagerness in the Arab world for developing ties with the Soviet Union is evident. The agreement reached in September of 1985 on establishing diplomatic relations between the USSR and Oman, and the agreement dated 15 November on the exchange of diplomatic representatives at the consular level between the USSR and the UAE are rather indicative in this respect.

All this is the natural and logical result of the principle and unchanged course of the USSR toward the development of friendly relations with the young countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Life itself convincingly proves the correctness of such a policy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gedjas--previously written Khidjaz.
2. "SSSR i arabskiye strany. 1917-1960" [USSR and the Arab Countries. 1917-1960], Moscow. 1982, p 298-299.
3. Ibid.
4. "Dokumenty vneshney politiki SSSR" [Foreign Policy Documents of the USSR]. Vol 10, Moscow, 1965, doc. 77.
5. "SSSR i arabskiye strany. 1917-1960". p 62-63.
6. Ibid.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BOOK ON PHILIPPINE FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 86 pp 61-62

[Review by S. Grikurov, candidate in economic sciences, of book "Vneshneekonomicheskiye svyazi Filippin" [Foreign Economic Ties of the Philippines] by V. Ya. Arkhipov, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka", 1984, 239 pages]

[Text] The study of foreign economic relations of the Philippines in the post-war period is based on an analysis of complex and multi-planar processes. This allowed the author to expose the most important peculiarities and tendencies in the economic relations of the Philippines with the outside world and to show this country's place in the system of international capitalist division of labor.

Tracing the directions and evolution of the state policy in the sphere of economics in various periods of the country's development, V. Arkhipov gives primary attention to foreign trade, which is the most important factor in the functioning of the Philippine economy and the main element in its foreign economic ties. Based on extensive factual material, the book examines the volume, structure and dynamics of development of foreign trade and the factors which negatively influence its expansion and diversification. The author gives a detailed analysis of the commodity structure of export and import, the geographic directionality of foreign trade, and the state's policy in this sphere. Here, although in general traits, he characterizes the new phenomenon in the foreign trade of the Philippines—the establishment and development of relations with the socialist countries.

The weak link in the monograph, in our opinion, is the section on the place of foreign private capital in the Philippine economy. Nevertheless, the peculiarities of the post-war economic development of the country are closely tied with the effect of specifically this factor. We will remember that the Philippines in the past decade have become one of the objects of broad expansion of foreign capital. The author overlooked such important questions as the forms and methods of penetration of foreign companies into the Philippine market and has not given sufficient attention to the activity of the transnational corporations and banks, which are an important tool of neocolonialism. Such an approach somewhat impoverished the study devoted to the current problems of foreign economic ties of the Philippines, which on the whole is quite useful.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BOOK ON POST WORLD WAR II TURKISH-ARAB RELATIONS REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 4, Apr 86 pp 62-63

[Review by I. Lisitsyna, candidate in historical sciences, of book "Turetsko-arabskiye otnosheniya i ikh mesto v sisteme mezhdunarodnykh svyazey na Blizhnem Vostoke (1945-1983)" [Turkish-Arab Relations and Their Place in the System of International Ties in the Near East (1945-1983)] by I. I. Ivanova, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka", 1985, 148 pages]

[Text] The author, who made use of rich factual material and a large number of original sources, primarily Turkish, succeeded in giving a comprehensive analysis of the evolution of Turkish-Arab relations after World War II. However—and this is fully justified by the entire course of the presentation—I. I. Ivanova went beyond the framework of the topic. The researcher in one form or another touches upon an entire series of key questions on current international relations: the near eastern conflict, the intensification of military-force methods in the U.S. policy in the region, and the Cyprus problem. She also touches upon the process of the so-called rebirth of Islam.

The openly pro-imperialist character of Turkish policy in 1945-1960 was one of the reasons for the state turnover of 27 May 1960. However, it was far from immediately—and this process is traced in the book with specific factual material—"shifts were noted in Turkish policy which evidenced a departure from the entrenched Atlantic stereotypes."

Ankara's tendency to action at the prompting from across the ocean did a disservice to the new Turkish leadership, since for a long time the Arab countries viewed Turkey's positions in near eastern affairs with justified suspicion. The author justly points out that the search by the Turkish leadership for an independent political line on the Near East not determined by Washington began largely under the influence of the actual collapse of all Turkey's plans to attain political leadership in the region along the paths of close coordination of its policy with the course of the USA. At the same time, we cannot exclude also the desire of the Turkish leadership to enlist the support of the Arabs on a number of foreign policy questions important to Turkey, and primarily on the Cyprus question.

Washington's interest in extending its expansion in the Arab world coincided with the desire of the new Turkish leaders to develop multilateral ties with the USA and NATO while at the same time strengthening the relations with the

Arab countries. The third, and most in-depth chapter of the reviewed monograph is devoted to this interesting and largely contradictory process. The most important reason for the strengthening of Turkish-Arab ties, as the author correctly points out, is Ankara's desire to stabilize the economy and to receive Arab oil on a regular basis. It is characteristic that the expansion of relations with the near eastern region is viewed in Turkish political circles through the prism of the entire complex of political and economic questions facing the country, including also the question of the further development of ties with the West.

Recently, using the tactics of open military-force pressure, Washington is trying to impose such a foreign policy course upon Turkey which would turn it into a platform for further development of American expansion.

The importance and political currency of the reviewed monograph consists primarily in the fact that the author shows the futility for Turkey of blindly following in the farwater of aggressive U.S. policy.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

USSR-DRA: PROTOCOL TO ESTABLISH TRAINING FACILITIES

Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELS'TVA SSSR in Russian No 4, 1986
pp 51-53

[Protocol No 13 between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on Rendering Technical Assistance to Afghanistan for the Purpose of Creating Educational Institutions]

[Text] The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan,

proceeding from the friendly relations which exist between these two neighboring countries,

in order to render aid to Afghanistan in training skilled specialists for work on projects to be built with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union,

in connection with the appeal by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, have agreed to the following:

Article 1

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, by way of meeting the wishes of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, expresses its agreement to render technical assistance to Afghanistan for creating during the years 1986-1990 ten vocational-technical educational institutions, one industrial-pedagogical tekhnikum, with a total number of as many as 4,000 slots for pupils, as well as to send Soviet specialists on an assignment to the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan] for the purpose of working in Afghanistan's vocational-technical educational institutions.

Article 2

In order to render the technical assistance provided for in Article 1 of the present Protocol, the Soviet organizations:

will perform the necessary planning operations;

will supply equipment manufactured in the USSR, materials, and visual-training aids;

will send on assignment to Afghanistan Soviet specialists for the purpose of rendering assistance in the installation, tuning-up, and putting into operation of equipment supplied from the USSR.

Article 3

In order to create the educational institutions provided for by Article 1 of the present Protocol, the Afghan organizations:

will hand over to the Soviet organizations the assignments for planning the buildings under construction or for re-equipping the existing buildings, as previously agreed upon by the organizations of the two Sides, along with all the initial data necessary for planning;

will examine and approve the plans during the course of 60 days after they have been presented by the Soviet organizations;

will perform with the assistance of the Soviet organizations construction and installation work in accordance with the approved plans;

will provide the construction projects with the manpower and necessary materials, which may be sought after and found in Afghanistan;

will provide the construction projects with the necessary electric power, water, means of transportation, will carry out the construction of auxiliary facilities and community services, rail sidings, and lines of external communications;

will provide on-schedule and complete financing in afghanis for building the projects;

will provide at their own expense the specialists, translators, and their family members being sent on assignment to Afghanistan with furnished living accommodations, with the necessary community-everyday services, including refrigerators, medical services, including hospitalization, and transportation for service-related trips within the borders of Afghanistan.

Article 4

Payment of the expenditures of the Soviet organizations connected with giving technical assistance and the sending of Soviet specialists on assignment, as provided for by Article 1 of the present Protocol, will be made by the Afghan Side by means of the credits granted in accordance with the Soviet-Afghan agreement on economic and technical cooperation, dated 1 March 1979, on the credit conditions granted in accordance with the Soviet-Afghan agreement on economic and technical cooperation, dated 27 February 1985.

Article 5

The Soviet and Afghan organizations will conclude contracts between themselves which will provide for the detailed conditions of the technical assistance and the sending of Soviet specialists on assignment, as provided for in Article 1 of the present Protocol.

Article 6

With regard to all remaining items not provided for by the present Protocol, the appropriate points of the above-mentioned Soviet-Afghan Agreements, dated 1 March 1979 and 27 February 1985, will be in effect.

Article 7

The present Protocol goes into effect on the day it is signed. Done at Kabul on 18 June 1985, which corresponds to 28 Jauz 1364, in two certified copies, one each in Russian and Dari; moreover, both texts are equally valid.

As authorized by the Government of
the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,
A. PETROV

As authorized by the Govern-
ment of the Democratic Republic
of Afghanistan,
S. MANGAL

CSO: 1825/69
2384

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

USSR-DRA: AGREEMENT ON ECONOMIC TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR in Russian No 4, 1986
pp 54-57

[Agreement No 14 between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on Economic and Technical Cooperation]

[Text] The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan,

proceeding from the relations of fraternal friendship between these two neighboring countries,

striving to further develop and expand economic and technical cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan,

in connection with the appeal made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan,

have agreed to the following:

Article 1

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics expresses its agreement to render assistance to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

- a) in continuing during the years 1986-1990 to conduct geological explorations for natural gas, directed primarily at preparing the Jumin-Asako-Bashikurd and Jangalikolon Deposits, for the purpose of ensuring an increase in gas reserves amounting to 35-40 billion cubic meters, in constructing operational wells, in building at the nitrogen-fertilizer plant in the city of Mazari-Sharif a unit for refining gas, in operating facilities of the gas industry by means of planning, deliveries of equipment, materials, spare parts, chemical reagents, as well as sending in Soviet specialists on assignments.
- b) in conducting during the years 1985-1990 projects to restore systems of electro-chemical protection and technological links between existing gas pipelines by means of planning, supplying interchangeable equipment and materials,

as well as sending in Soviet specialists on assignments.

Article 2

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics likewise expresses its agreement to carry out during the years 1986-1990 by the efforts of Soviet organizations working on contract conditions planning, construction, and installation projects for building a compressor station and modernizing pilot structures at the Jarkuduk Gas Industry, for constructing a loop 50 kilometers in length on the USSR-DRA Gas Pipeline, on laying out the Yetym-Tag Deposit and planning operations for developing and laying out the Jumin-Aasko-Bashikurd Deposit.

Article 3

In order to implement the cooperation provided for by Articles 1 and 2 of the present Agreement, the Soviet organizations:

- 1) will perform the necessary planning-and-surveying operations;
- 2) will supply equipment to be manufactured in the USSR and materials which are not to be found in Afghanistan;
- 3) in order to carry out under contract conditions work on the construction of the projects provided for by Article 2 of the present Agreement, a construction-and-installation organization will be created in Afghanistan;
- 4) in connection with carrying out the operations provided for by Article 2 of the present Agreement, Soviet specialists are to be sent on assignment to Afghanistan in order to collect initial data, conduct investigatory and construction-and-installation work, inventors' supervision, for the production-and-technical training of Afghan citizens, as well as for the installation, fine-tuning, and putting into operation of equipment.
- 5) in connection with the construction of projects and performing the operations provided for by Article 1 of the present Agreement, Soviet specialists are to be sent on assignments to Afghanistan in order to collect initial data, conduct investigatory work, inventors' observations and consultations in the construction of projects, the production-and-technical training of Afghan citizens, as well as rendering assistance in the installation, tune-up, and putting into operation of equipment, and in its utilization.

Article 4

In order to implement the cooperation provided for by Articles 1 and 2 of the present Agreement, the Afghan organizations:

- 1) will turn over to the Soviet organizations existing in Afghanistan the initial data necessary for planning and will cooperate with the Soviet organizations in collecting and preparing other necessary data;
- 2) will examine and approve plans during the course of 60 days after their presentation by the Soviet organizations;

- 3) will perform in accordance with the technical plans and with the technical assistance of the Soviet organizations construction and other operations for creating the facilities and conducting the operations provided for by Article 1 of the present Agreement;
- 4) will ensure that the construction and modernization of the principal projects, auxiliary structures, and conduct of the operations are provided with manpower and the necessary materials which can be found in Afghanistan, as well as the appropriate utilization of the facilities which have been built or modernized;
- 5) will guarantee the on-schedule and full financing of the domestic expenditures on the construction of facilities and the carrying out of other projects. In connection with carrying out operations under contract conditions, such financing will be done by means of transferring sums in afghanis to the corresponding account of the USSR Bank for Foreign Trade in the Da Afghanistan Bank, as provided for by Article 7 of the Soviet-Afghan Agreement, dated 1 March 1979;
- 6) will provide at its own expense for the Soviet specialists, translators, and family members who are to be sent on assignments to Afghanistan for the purpose of rendering technical assistance in the construction of facilities, as provided for by Article 1 of the present Agreement, with furnished housing, along with the necessary community-everyday services, including refrigerators, as well as medical services, including hospitalization, and transportation for service-connected trips within the borders of Afghanistan.

Article 5

Payment of the expenditures of the Soviet organizations connected with carrying out the operations provided for by Articles 1 and 2 of the present Agreement will be made by the Afghan Side by means of the remaining credit granted to the Government of the DRA for the purpose of building a mining-and-dressing combine based at the Ainak Copper-Ore Deposit, in accordance with the Soviet-Afghan agreement on economic and technical cooperation, dated 1 March 1979, on the credit conditions which were granted in accordance with the Soviet-Afghan agreement on economic and technical cooperation, dated 27 February 1985. The date of utilization of credit in order to pay for equipment and materials will be deemed to be the date of the bill of lading or the date of the stamp of the USSR border station on the railroad invoice, whereas for the payment of other types of services and leases it will be the date of the billing.

In performing work under contract conditions the date of utilization of credit will be deemed to be the date of the billing, as established in accordance with the conditions of the contract.

Article 6

In all the remaining items not provided for by the present Agreement the appropriate points of the Soviet-Afghan Agreement, dated 27 February 1985, will be in effect.

Article 7

In case of necessity, the USSR Foreign Trade Bank and the Da Afghanistan Bank will make appropriate changes in the technical procedure for handling the accounts and credit calculations mentioned in the present Agreement.

Article 8

The present Agreement will go into effect on the day it is signed.

Done at Moscow on 27 August 1985, which corresponds to 5 Sambul 1364, in two certified, original copies, one each in Russian and Dari; moreover, both texts are equally valid.

As authorized by the Government of
the Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics
M. SERGEYCHIK

As authorized by the Government of
the Democratic Republic of
Afghanistan
S. MANGAL

CSO: 1825/69
2384

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

RETURNING AFGHAN REFUGEE DESCRIBES EXPERIENCES IN PAKISTAN

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 May 86 p 5

[Article by G. Ustinov under the "Behind the Scenes" rubric: "The Return"]

[Text] They come almost daily to Torkkhale, Spin Buldak and other Afghan settlements located on the border with Pakistan--sometimes alone, sometimes in small groups of two or three families and sometimes in whole caravans of three to four hundred people. Since the revolution began these people have been torn from their homes and led abroad for various reasons: traditional obedience to feudal lords who have decided to flee the republic, the countless number of Afghan guerrillas, and the generous promises of Pakistani radio which has pledged peace, quiet and carefree life to its Afghan "brothers"...

After long months and years of joyless wanderings and a pitiful existence in special camps and reservations many of them, having experienced the true meaning and reality of "foreign aid", decide to return home. In the last year, ending in Afghanistan on the 20th of March, thirty thousand Afghans rediscovered their homeland. I would like to describe the odyssey of one such Afghan.

We met in a small settlement near Qandahar the day after he had returned home. At that time he still had tears in his eyes from his encounter with Afghan soil.

Habibulla Tadzhiik has seen 41 years pass. He was born in the Maivan uyezd in the Qandahar province. Here he completed eight years of elementary education in a local school. Here he began to till the soil. An intelligent and literate man, before the revolution he occupied the post of land administrator for the local feudal lord Guliam Rasul. According to Habibulla he didn't accumulate any money. But when gangs of Afghan guerrillas began to throw their weight around in the province he was one of the first to be approached. "We are waging war against infidels and reís," the ringleader told him. "A patriotic movement demands resources. You were in charge of Rasul's affairs for quite a while. I'm sure you didn't go emptyhanded. Now you must share".

No matter how much Habibulla swore that he did not have anything other than a small piece of land, the bandits would not believe him. Having managed to

extract from him some money put away for a rainy day, they proceeded to stab Habibulla with their bayonettes and cut off his wife's breasts. After the "patriots" left their home, the couple, more dead than alive, ran to the home of some relatives in a border kishlak. From there, fearing that the bandits would not leave them in peace, they went to Pakistan. "I'm not trying to justify myself," says Habibulla, "but my homeland was going through bad times and I decided to wait it out abroad...".

For a long time Habibulla unsuccessfully searched for work, for shelter. He landed up in a Pakistani prison for vagrancy. On leaving prison he decided not to tempt fate any more and settled in a refugee camp located in the Mukhamakheil settlement of the Panjpai uyezd in the northwestern border province of Pakistan.

Here good fortune smiled on Habibulla. While processing his papers the Pakistani head of the camp noted that the newcomer had a good education and experience in administrative work. As a result Habibulla was sent to the budget office of the refugee camp first as an ordinary employee and later as a supervisor. This subdivision employed ten refugees and saw to the property, provisions, and finances of the camp, in which 2,650 people temporarily found refuge. These people had left Qandahar province for various reasons.

The camp was run by Mahsud Vali-bek, the leader of one of the counterrevolutionary groups based in Pakistan. This wealthy entrepreneur was a former deputy to the Afghan parliament under the king. He owned luxurious villas in the Pakistani cities of Peshawar and Qetta. He drove only a Mercedes. He was extremely severe with his subordinates and pathologically stingy.

All money from various charitable funds, as well as aid from foreign governments fell into Vali-bek's hands. Habibulla claims that the refugees themselves received merely crumbs. No money was provided for food, clothing, and medicine although the "humanitarian aid" was intended primarily for these things. The camp's budget consisted primarily of salaries for the administration and defense of the camp, as well as some money for electric, water, and garbage collection bills.

It is not difficult to imagine how the camp's inhabitants lived. Even those who managed to find tolerable work could not buy themselves tents. They slept instead on mats in the open air covering themselves with one and the same cloth blanket. During the day they would stretch it out like a tent to protect themselves from the sun. At night they would use it against the cold. Meanwhile the budget office knew full well that Pakistan was receiving not only money for the refugees but sleeping bags, tents, primus-stoves, pilaff cauldrons, samovars, and teapots as well. All of this went to Vali-bek, who sold most of it through middlemen in the market.

According to Habibulla several times a year something surprising would happen in the camp. In the morning two or three trucks laden with provisions and various goods drove into the camp. They were followed by "honored guests"-Americans, West Germans, Englishmen and Frenchmen. They gave the refugees "gifts," delivered long speeches, and filmed the distribution of aid for

television and newsreels. No sooner had they left than the "redistribution" of the gifts began. Those who were most influential and powerful rounded up all the best things with the help of their yes-men. Then foreign gifts would appear behind Pakistani store counters. However, the poor would also sell anything they could get their hands on. After all, a person has to eat.

In the evenings people would gather in the homes of those who had transistor receivers and listen to the news from their homeland. In spite of the constant propagandistic workover by Pakistani sources, "political discussions" with functionaries and leaders of counterrevolutionary organizations (including Vali-bek), and the speeches of "foreign friends," the refugees took little on faith.

"You'll ask why in the world they do not return home," says Habibulla and answers his own question. "That's not so easy to do." The camp is surrounded by Pakistani police posts and Afghan guerrilla details roam near the border. According to Habibulla there have been a number of incidents in which groups of refugees setting out for home at their own risk have disappeared without a trace. He himself made it only because his post gave him the right of free movement. Having driven with his wife to the Pakistani border settlement of Chaman, he abandoned his car and crossed over into Spin Buldak.

It is not the first time in Qandahar that I have had occasion to listen to the sad stories of Afghans who have returned from abroad. The simple and unadorned story of my current companion is yet more evidence that for Afghan refugees "foreign aid" is no more than a smoke-screen intended to hide the true interests of the guardians of the counterrevolution. Under the false pretense of this aid imperialistic countries pump huge amounts of resources into Pakistan to wage this dirty war on Afghan soil. Refugee camps live off meager rations, but where the content, training, arming and remuneration of the bloody actions of the counterrevolutionaries are concerned the generosity of world reaction knows no limit.

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